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C Chillingworth



THE LIFE
OF
WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH,

AUTHOR OF "THE RELIGION OF PROTESTANTS," &c.

BY
P. DES MAIZEAUX.

EDITED, WITH NOTES AND TRANSLATIONS,

BY THE LATE

JAMES NICHOLS,

EDITOR OF "FULLER'S CHURCH HISTORY," &c.

LONDON: WILLIAM TEGG.
1863.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE PETER
LORD KING, BARON OF OCKHAM,
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF GREAT
BRITAIN.

MY LORD,

It is my good fortune in this address to your Lordship, that I am under no necessity of making the excuses and apologies usual on such occasions. The esteem which men have for the writings of an author naturally inspires them with a desire of being informed of what relates to his person ; I therefore presumed that this performance, such as it is, would not be unacceptable to your Lordship, since it concerns that eminent assertor of the Protestant cause, Mr. Chillingworth.

You will find here, my Lord, besides the history of his life, a true representation of his sentiments ; his sincere, unbiassed love of truth, and the anxious, indefatigable inquiries he made after it ; his changes of religion, or rather, his constancy in following that way to heaven which for the present seemed to him the most probable ; his charitable, friendly attempts to reclaim such as he thought were in a wrong way ; and his generous and truly Christian resolution not to comply with anything which he judged erroneous or unlawful, but steadfastly to profess and maintain what he esteemed to be just and true, even at the expense of what was dearest to him in this world : you will see, at the same time, the odious imputations cast upon him, not only by those "without," who hate

the light, lest it should reprove them, or make them manifest; but also by some among us, who, being too fond of their own notions, could not come up to that degree of freedom, impartiality, and moderation which was so remarkable in him.

These noble dispositions of mind will, I conceive, make him more particularly amiable to your Lordship, who have so just an idea of the purity of the Christian religion, and of the sense of primitive antiquity; who are so distinguished for your candour and moderation, so conspicuous for your uprightness, justice, and equity, that your advancement to the high station you are now in was no less agreeable to the unanimous wishes and desires of the nation, than to his Majesty's tender concern for the welfare of his people.

I have the honour to be, with profound respect,
My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble and most obedient
servant,

P. DES MAIZEAUX.

THE PREFACE.

SOME time ago I published the life of the ever-memorable Mr. Hales, as a specimen of an Historical and Critical English Dictionary, in which an account will be given of such persons as have made themselves famous by their writings or other actions in Great Britain and Ireland. But as a work of that nature requires an uncommon labour and diligence, and consequently a considerable time, I have been desired by some persons, who have a particular esteem for Mr. Chillingworth, to select, out of my materials, what concerned that excellent man, and to print it by itself. This hath given me the liberty of enlarging that article beyond the bounds required in a Dictionary. For in such a work there ought to be a suitable proportion in the several articles, with reference to the whole, which must be brought within as narrow a compass as possible.

As to the method I have followed, it is the same with that of Mr. Bayle in his Historical and Critical Dictionary. This piece consists of two parts: the first is the Text, which includes the most material circumstances of the subject, and might, in some measure, be read without interruption: the second is the Remarks, which contain several additions, illustrations, and proofs relating to what is said in the text. The marks in the text direct the reader to the remarks

underneath ; after the reading of which he is to return to the text, and resume it where he left off. By that means he will have a clearer and fuller notion of the whole, than if he should read either the text or the remarks separately.

I must here acknowledge the favour of those gentlemen who have been pleased to communicate to me some letters of Mr. Chillingworth, which were never before printed. They lead us into a particular knowledge of his sentiments, and therefore cannot but be very acceptable to the reader.

This being a critical as well as an historical account, I found myself obliged to act the part both of a critic and of an historian. But, the criticisms relating only to matter of fact, or the vindication of Mr. Chillingworth, I hope those eminent persons, whose mistakes I have taken the liberty to observe, will not be offended with my freedom, since no man is exempt from error, and the assertions of great men are apt to be taken upon trust, and received as authorities.

LONDON, *July 15th*, 1725.

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THE LIFE
OF
MR. WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH.

I. CHILLINGWORTH'S BIRTH, EDUCATION, AND
CONVERSION TO POPERY.

WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH, a divine of the church of England, celebrated for the excellency of his parts, for his moderation, and masterly way of defending the cause of the protestants against the papists, was "son of William Chillingworth, citizen (afterwards mayor) of Oxford, was born in St. Martin's parish there, in a little house on the north side of the conduit at Quatervois, in October, 1602; and on the last of that month received baptism there." * William Laud, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, and then Fellow of St. John's College, and Master of Arts,† was his godfather.‡

"After he had been educated in grammar-learning under Edward Sylvester, a noted Latinist and Grecian, (who taught privately in All-saints' parish,) or in the Free-school joining to Magdalen

* ANTHONY A WOOD, *Athence Oxonienses*, &c., vol. ii. col. 20 of the first edition. † "The Diary of the Life of Archbishop Laud," published by Mr. Wharton, pp. 1, 2.

‡ WOOD, *ubi supra*, c. 21.

College, or in both, he became scholar of Trinity College, under the tuition of Mr. Robert Skinner, on June 2d, 1618, being then [of] about two years' standing in the University; and going through with ease the classes of logic and philosophy, was admitted Master of Arts in the latter end of 1623, and Fellow of the said College June 10th, 1628. He was then observed," says Mr. Wood, "to be no drudge at his study; but, being a man of great parts, would do much in a little time when he settled to it. He would often walk in the College-grove and contemplate; but when he met with any scholar there, he would enter into discourse and dispute with him, purposely to facilitate and make the way of wrangling common with him; which was a fashion used in those days, especially among the disputing theologists, or among those that set themselves apart purposely for divinity." *

Mr. Chillingworth did not confine his studies to divinity. He applied himself, with great success, to mathematics; and, what shows the extent of his genius, he was also accounted a good poet. (1.)† His intimate friends were, sir Lucius Cary, afterwards viscount Falkland; Mr. John Hales, of Eton, &c.; but more particularly Mr. Gilbert Sheldon, who, in the year 1663, succeeded Dr. Juxon in the see of Canterbury.

The study and conversation of the University-scholars, in his time, turned chiefly upon the controversies between the church of England and the church of Rome. The occasion was this:—

* Wood, *ubi supra*, col. 20.
the end of this section, p. 7.

† See Remark I. at

Towards the latter end of the reign of king James I., the Romish priests, both regular and secular, were allowed an uncommon liberty in England; which was continued in the reign of king Charles I., upon the account of his marriage with the princess Henrietta, sister* to Henry IV. of France. Several of them lived at, or near, Oxford,† and made frequent attempts upon the young scholars; whereby some were deluded to the Romish religion, and afterwards conveyed to the English seminaries beyond sea.

This practice became so notorious in the year 1628, that, on March 31st, the parliament presented a petition to the king, in the second article whereof they desired that His Majesty "would be pleased to command a surer and strait watch to be kept in and over His Majesty's ports and havens, and to commit the care and charge of searching of ships—for the discovery and apprehension as well of Jesuits and seminary-priests brought in, as of children and young students sent over beyond the seas, to suck in the poison of rebellion and superstition—unto men of approved fidelity and religion: and such as should be convicted to have connived or combined in the bringing in the one, or conveying of the other, that the laws might pass upon them with speedy execution."‡ To which the king was pleased to return the following answer: "His Majesty granteth all that is in this article; and to this end will give order to the

* Not Henry's *sister*, but his *daughter*; and sister to Louis XIII.—EDIT.

† Wood, *ubi supra*, col. 485.

‡ Rushworth's "Historical Collections," &c., "from the Year 1618—1629." London, 1659. Pp. 516, 517.

Lord Treasurer, Lord Admiral, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, that in their several places they be careful to see this article fully executed," &c.* But little regard was had to the king's orders, which occasioned new complaints from the Parliament; and His Majesty declared, that if the laws had not been executed according to his intention, the fault lay in the subordinate officers and ministers in the country, by whose remissness Jesuits and priests did escape without apprehension.†

It is no wonder, therefore, if several popish missionaries continued in England, notwithstanding the proceedings of the Parliament. There was amongst them a famous Jesuit, who went under the name of John Fisher, and was very busy in seeking to make converts. (II.) He was then much conversant in Oxford; and, according to the usual method of his order, attacked such young students as distinguished themselves by the pregnancy of their parts. Mr. Chillingworth being generally accounted a very ingenious man, Mr. Fisher used all means possible to be acquainted with him.‡ Their conversations soon turned upon the points controverted between the church of England and the church of Rome; but more particularly upon the necessity of an infallible living judge in matters of faith; which hath always been the darling topic of the Romanists, and is perhaps the strongest battery they can raise against the protestants. Mr. Chillingworth found himself

* RUSHWORTH, *ibid.*, p. 517. † *Idem, ubi supra*, part ii., from 1628-9—1640. London, 1680, p. 11.

‡ Wood, vol. ii. col. 20. See Remark v. p. 17.

unable to answer the arguments of the Jesuit; nor could he be satisfied with the solutions which were given him by those of our learned divines to whom he proposed the said arguments :* and being, among other things, convinced of the necessity of an infallible living judge of controversies, he was easily brought to believe, that this infallible judge was in the church of Rome, and that, therefore, the church of Rome must be the true church, and the only church in which men could be saved. He thereupon forsook the communion of the church of England, and, with an incredible satisfaction of mind, embraced the Romish religion. Soon after he wrote a letter to "his very loving friend Mr. Gilbert Sheldon," (for thus runs the superscription,) wherein he recommended to his consideration the chief arguments that had most prevailed with himself, and invited him to follow his example. That letter having never been printed, I shall transcribe it here :—†

"GOOD MR. SHELDON,

"PARTLY mine own necessities and fears, and partly charity to some others, have drawn me out of London into the country. One particular cause, and not the least, was the news of your sickness; which had I found it had continued with you with any danger, no danger of my own should have kept me from you. I am very glad to hear of your recovery, but sorry that your occa-

* WOOD, *ibid.* † For this letter I am obliged to the favour of the Right Reverend Dr. Kennet, lord bishop of Peterborough. See Remark XXI.

sions do draw you so suddenly to London. But, I pray, leave a direction with Charles Green where you may be spoken with, and how I may send to you ; and you shall very shortly hear further from me. Meanwhile let me entreat you to consider most seriously of these two queries :—

“ ‘ 1. Whether it be not evident from scripture, and fathers, and reason ; from the goodness of God, and the necessity of mankind ; that there must be some one church infallible in matters of faith ? ’

“ ‘ 2. Whether there be any other society of men in the world, besides the church of Rome, that either can upon good warrant, or indeed at all, challenge to itself the privilege of infallibility in matters of faith ? ’

“ When you have applied your most attentive consideration upon these questions, I do assure myself your resolution will be affirmative in the first, and negative in the second. And then the conclusion will be, that you will approve and follow the way wherein I have had the happiness to enter before you ; and [I] should think it infinitely increased, if it would please God to draw you after. I rest

“ Your assured friend, &c.”

In order to secure his conquest, Mr. Fisher persuaded Mr. Chillingworth to go over to the college of the Jesuits at Doway ;* and he was desired to set down in writing the motives or reasons that had engaged him to embrace the Romish religion.

* See Remark v. p. 17.

REMARKS.

I.—PAGE 2

He was also accounted a good poet—Sir John Suckling mentions him in his “Sessions of the Poets :”—*

“There Selden and he sate hard by the chair ;
 Wenman not far off, which was very fair ;
 Sands with Townsend, for they kept no order ;
 Digby and Shillingsworth a little further.”

II.—PAGE 4

A famous Jesuit, who went under the name of John Fisher—His true name was John Perse, or Percey. In the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*, we find this account of him :—JOANNES PERSEUS, aliàs FISHERUS,† natione Anglus, patriâ Dunelmensis, ‡ ex familiâ hæreticâ natus, singulari Dei beneficio cùm adolescens quindecim annorum esset, non paucis difficultatum obstaculis superatis, in Galliam transfretavit. Ibi Remos primùm, deinde Romam petiit.....cùm nec carceres, nec tormenta formidaret, generosus athleta Christi, rursus impetratâ a majoribus facultate, trajecit in Angliam, ubi tertio, et quarto, iterùm comprehensus, et in custodiam compactus est. Nec in carceribus ipsis sine lucro multarum animarum Christo et ecclesiæ adjunctarum fuit. Nam accedentes ad se non paucos nobiles consilii causâ, et famâ doctrinæ permotos ad castra Christi feliciter perduxit, et inter eos illustrissimam D. Comitissam, Ducis Buckinghamiæ matrem, qui cum summâ gratiâ floreret apud Jacobum regem, ab eo obtinuit, ut libero e carcere apud matrem suam ei degere liceret. Quin et ipse rex de rebus fidei controversis audire ipsum coràm disserentem non est dedigna-

* “*Fragmenta aurea*. A Collection of all the incomparable Pieces written by SIR JOHN SUCKLING,” &c. London, 1646, p. 7.

† *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*. Opus....recognitum, et productum ad annum Jubilei, 1675, a NATHANAELE SOTVELLO, ejusdem Societatis Presbytero. Romæ, 1676, pp. 487, 488.

‡ Mr. Wood says, that he was a Yorkshireman. *Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. ii. col. 8.

*tus, proposuitque ei scripto insuper capita, quæ suam majestatem retinebant, quo minas Romanæ fidei manus daret, jubendo, ut ad singula responderet. Et quamvis pater brevi temporis intervallo ad singula solidissimè responsum reposuerit, non tamen assecutus est a rege assensum, quem optabat. Post obitum Comitissæ iterum carceri mancipatus, iterum deprecatione serenissimæ reginæ Angliæ Henriettæ Mariæ libertati restitutus, denudò culturæ animarum naviter se impendit, donec tandem, fractus annis et laboribus, quartum confessor Domini in vinculis, arduosam hanc vitam cum cœlesti (ut speramus) commutavit, Londini, die tertio Decembris, 1641.**

* “JOHN PIERCY (otherwise FISHER) by country was an Englishman, and descended from a heretical family in the county-palatine of Durham. While but a youth, in the fifteenth year of his age, by the singular blessing of God, after encountering and overcoming numerous difficulties, he crossed the Channel, and landed in France. He first repaired to Rheims, and then visited Rome.....Afterwards this generous champion for Christ, fearlessly disregarding prisons and tortures, having again obtained leave from his spiritual superiors, passed over into his native country, where, both on his third and fourth visits, he was seized and imprisoned. Yet never was he an inmate of a prison without being useful to many devout souls, who were united to Christ and to his church. For, not a few of the nobility repaired to him in his bonds, for the purpose of receiving spiritual instruction; and, having become deeply impressed with the fame of his doctrine, they were happily conducted by him into the camp of Christ Jesus. In the number of these was the most illustrious countess, the mother of the Duke of Buckingham; a man who at that time stood high in favour with king James, and who obtained from his Majesty an order for Piercy's enlargement, and permission for him to reside with the aged countess. Moreover, the king himself did not disdain to listen to him, while openly engaged in the discussion of various points of faith which were then under controversy. His Majesty likewise submitted to him in writing certain scruples, which prevented him from subscribing with his hand to the Romish creed, with the royal command,—that to each of them he should give a distinct reply. But, though the reverend Father, in a very brief interval, returned to these topics severally a most solid answer, he did not obtain from the king that assent which he desired. After the

What the Jesuits say here concerning the countess of Buckingham's being drawn over to the church of Rome by Mr. Fisher, is confirmed by archbishop Laud, who further observes, that the marquis her son "was almost lost from the church of England, between the continual cunning labours of that Jesuit, and the persuasions of the lady his mother;" whereupon he had, by the king's order, a conference with Mr. Fisher on the 24th of May, 1622, before the marquis and his mother; and, by the force of his arguments, settled that lord in the communion of the church of England, "wherein he continued to his death, and brought the lady his mother to the church again; but she was not so happy as to continue with us." *

death of the countess, having been once more committed to prison, he was again restored to liberty through the intercession of her most serene Majesty, Henrietta Maria, queen of England. He then applied himself with the greatest earnestness to the salvation and edification of souls; till, at length, bowed down under the infirmities of age, and broken with excessive labour, and having, for the fourth time, become a confessor in bonds for his Lord and Master; in London, on the third day of December, 1641, he exchanged this troublesome life for a state (as we hope) of heavenly rest and enjoyment."

—EDIT.

* See "The History and Trial of Archbishop Laud," p. 226; and the "Diary of his Life," p. 5.

II. CHILLINGWORTH IS RECLAIMED FROM POPISH APOSTASY BY ARCHBISHOP LAUD. SOME MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THE ROMANISTS CORRECTED.

WHEN Dr. Laud, who was then bishop of London, heard that Mr. Chillingworth was gone over to the church of Rome, and had retired to Doway, he was extremely concerned at it. However, as

he knew him to be a sincere lover of truth, he was not altogether without some hope of reclaiming him. He therefore wrote to him; and Mr. Chillingworth's answer expressing a great deal of moderation, candour, and impartiality, that prelate continued to correspond with him, and pressed him with several arguments against the doctrine and practice of the Romanists.

This set Mr. Chillingworth upon a new inquiry, which had the desired effect. The arguments, by which he had been convinced, began now to appear to him in another light. But the place where he was not being suitable to the state of a free, impartial inquirer, he resolved to come back into England, and left Doway, in the year 1631,* after a short stay there. (III.)†

Archbishop Laud, in his speech before the lords, (on the first day of his trial, March 12th, 1643,) appealed to the letters that passed then between him and Mr. Chillingworth, in order to vindicate himself from the charge of popery. "Mr. Chillingworth's learning and abilities," says he, "are sufficiently known to all your lordships. He was gone, and settled at Doway. My letters brought him back; and he lived and died a defender of the church of England. And that this is so, your lordships cannot but know; for Mr. Prynne took away my letters, and all the papers which concerned him, and they were examined at the committee." ‡

These letters are supposed to be lost. (IV.)

* WOOD, *ubi supra*, c. 21.
at the end of this section, p. 12.

† See Remark III.
‡ "History of the Troubles and Trial of William Laud," &c., p. 227.

Upon his return into England, Mr. Chillingworth was received with great kindness and affection by bishop Laud, who approved his design of retiring to Oxford,* in order to complete the important work he was upon,—a free inquiry into religion.

Some authors having given an unfaithful or inaccurate account of the foregoing particulars, I shall rectify their mistakes in the Remarks. (v.)

Mr. Chillingworth, being now at Oxford, pursued his inquiries with all the care and industry imaginable. He not only read and examined such books as were the most important for his purpose, but took all opportunities of arguing with learned men of both persuasions, in order to find what they could say for themselves, or object against their adversaries. At last, the protestant principles appearing to him the most agreeable both to the holy scripture and right reason, he declared for them. And having fully discovered the sophistry of the motives that had induced him to go over to the church of Rome, he wrote a paper (about the year 1634) to confute them; but did not think proper to publish it, for some reasons that we shall see hereafter. This paper is now lost. It is true, we have a paper of his on the same subject; but it seems to be written upon some other occasion, probably at the desire of some of his friends: for he was, according to the rule of the apostle, “always ready to give an answer to every man that asked him the reason of the hope that was in him.” (1 Peter iii. 15.)

* Bishop Laud was then Chancellor of the University.

In this paper he demonstrates the fallacy of the arguments that had most prevailed with him to change his religion.*

* It was first published in 1687, in the "Additional Discourses of Mr. Chillingworth," &c. See Remark XXXIV.

REMARKS.

III.—PAGE 10.

And left Doway after a short stay there—Mr. Chillingworth was soon tired with the company of his new friends at Doway, as it appears by the following passages of Mr. Lacy, a Jesuit, who wrote a bitter invective against him, after he had published his book, entitled, "The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation," &c. "Had he not made," says the Jesuit, "so much haste in running back from the catholic, as though he had come thither only to fetch fire of faction, he might have acquainted himself better with the practice of the holy church, in this very point of miracles, and relations concerning saints." † And, in the next page : "Yet had the man but stayed," says he, "to have learned his catechism among us, he might have known the use and meaning of our ceremonies : now having come into the church, as Cato came unto the theatre, only to go out again, what marvel if he return a ridiculous censurer of what he only saw and understood not? Such post-haste were hardly tolerable in a spy, much less in one who comes to see and censure." ‡

"Would any man think," says he, elsewhere, "that this man was never catholic above two months at once, who knows the Jesuits so well?" § He enlarges that time, in another place : "Nor could the advocate himself," says he,

† "The Judgment of an University-Man," &c., p. 39. See Remark XXXVII.

‡ Page 40.

§ Page 13.

“out of his little experience of the condition of such men [the Jesuits] which he might have gathered in the space of half a year, or thereabout, while he was *connumeratus in nobis*, ‘one of our number,’ as St. Peter said of Judas, be ignorant of other causes.” * Which “space of half a year,” includes the time when he professed himself a Roman catholic in England; and, consequently, shows that his stay at Doway must have been very short. As for our Jesuit’s objections against Mr. Chillingworth, they are a mere piece of sophistry. He pretends that Mr. Chillingworth was not sufficiently acquainted with the doctrines and practices of the church of Rome, because he did not live long in that communion. But could he not know their doctrines from their own books? And as to their practices and ceremonies, had he stayed but two months at Doway, that time was sufficient to give him a right notion of them.

The same author, speaking of Mr. Chillingworth’s embracing the Romish religion, says: “Indeed, he lost his Fellowship by it; but I presume the catholic would have given him a better, had he but held out his year’s probation.” † And there is no reason to doubt, that, if he had continued with the Jesuits, they would have distinguished him suitably to his parts and merit. From whence we may also conclude, that he met with a kind and respectful usage while he was with them; though some protestants, either out of envy or malice, did suggest the contrary; as may be seen in the following passage of Dr. Fuller: “William Chillingworth,” says he, “was born in the city of Oxford; so that, by the benefit of his birth, he fell from the lap of his mother into the arms of the Muses. He was bred in Trinity College in this University; an acute and subtle disputant, but unsettled in his judgment, which made him go beyond the seas, and in some sort was con-ciled to the church of Rome; but, whether because he

* *Idem*, p. 24.

† Page 18.

found not the respect he expected, (which *some* shrewdly suggest,) or because his conscience could not close with all the Romish corruptions, (which *more* charitably believe,) he returned into England," &c.* Besides this groundless story, there are two things in this passage that may be animadverted upon. For, 1. Mr. Chillingworth's "going beyond the seas" was not occasioned by his being "unsettled in his judgment;" but, on the contrary, by his being settled in his opinion, that the Romish religion was to be preferred before the religion of the church of England. 2. He was "conciled to the church of Rome," not in "some sort," but entirely and sincerely.

Mr. Wood tells the same story; as we shall see hereafter.† But if there had been any the least shadow of truth in these reports, Mr. Lacey, who was perfectly acquainted with every thing that related to Mr. Chillingworth while he was at Doway, had never failed to take an advantage of it, and to say, that he only left them, because he would not go through the austerities that are practised among them, &c.

IV.—PAGE 10.

The letters that passed between bishop Laud and Mr. Chillingworth are supposed to be lost—The papers of archbishop Laud were taken from him by Mr. Prynne, pursuant to an order of the House of Commons; and Mr. Prynne kept them till after the Restoration, when, by order of the king in council, they were delivered to Dr. Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury. But "very few of those papers, which Prynne had published in several pamphlets and books, came into archbishop Sheldon's hands. And not a few, even of those which had not been published, were found wanting. Particularly the papers of archbishop Laud, concerning the conversion of his godson, Mr. William Chillingworth; which the archbishop says

* "The History of the Worthies of England," &c., pp. 339, 340.

† See Remark v.

were taken away from him by Mr. Prynne ; and, being by him produced at the committee for drawing up his charge, were there examined." *

V.—PAGE 11.

Some authors having been misinformed as to the foregoing particulars, I shall take notice of their mistakes—Mr. Cressy, once a divine of the church of England, but afterwards a Benedictine monk, and a great zealot for the church of Rome,† in his book against Dr. Stillingfleet, entitled, “*Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church,*” &c., speaking of Mr. Chillingworth, with whom he had been personally acquainted, says : “Mr. Chillingworth, a little before, [the year 1638,] was returned out of Flanders ; where he had professed himself a catholic ; and being sent for by archbishop Laud, was strictly examined by him touching his religion, and whether he went to Mass, or Common Prayer ; to whom he gave this account, —That he had entertained such scruples touching catholic religion, and withal was as yet so unsatisfied with the grounds of the English protestant religion, that, at present, his conscience would not permit him to go either to Mass or to Common Prayer ; and, therefore, with His Grace’s leave, he was resolved to spend a year or two in a solitude, and the study of Greek and Latin fathers ; fully purposing to embrace that religion which appeared to him most consonant to what the fathers generally taught. The archbishop much commended his design, and dismissed him with his blessing, and a promise also that he should enjoy entire liberty to prosecute so laudable a study. Very busy in this study I found and left him, in England [in the year 1638]. But it was presently interrupted by that unlucky book of Daillé,‡ which persuaded him to a light

* MR. WHARTON, in his Preface to the “*History of the Troubles and Trial of William Laud,*” &c.

† See MR. WOOD,

Athenæ Oxon., vol. ii, col. 385, &c.

‡ *Traicté de l’Employ*

des Saints Pères, &c.

esteem of the holy fathers, upon whose authority he would no longer rely," &c.* 1. Mr. Cressy intimates that Mr. Chillingworth "returned out of Flanders" without any previous correspondence with archbishop Laud, or even without his knowledge; but that the archbishop, hearing he was come over, sent for him to his house, and strictly examined him touching his religion, &c.; which is a great mistake. 2. He says, that Mr. Chillingworth's return out of Flanders was but "a little before" the year 1638; whereas it is certain that he was returned before the year 1635; and, according to Mr. Wood, he came over in 1631. 3. He pretends, that Mr. Chillingworth told the bishop, that he "fully purposed to embrace that religion which appeared to him most consonant to what the fathers generally taught;" but this is only grounded upon a story he is very fond of, concerning Mr. Daillé's book, &c.; which shall be examined hereafter.† 4. He says, the archbishop "dismissed" Mr. Chillingworth "with his blessing, and a promise also that he should enjoy entire liberty to prosecute so laudable a study;" which, being, in general, probably true, discovers in that illustrious prelate a generous, equitable temper, that deserves our highest commendation, and shows how sensible he was of the goodness of the protestant cause, if but examined freely and impartially.

The earl of Clarendon, in his "Animadversions" upon the book before-mentioned, hath censured some of the faults we have observed; but, at the same time, he hath fallen himself into some mistakes. "If Mr. Cressy," says he, "had not been very wary in saying any thing that might redound to the honour of any of the present prelates, he cannot but know that the present archbishop of Canterbury [Dr. Laud] had first reclaimed him [Mr. Chillingworth] from his doubtings, and they were no more; nor had he ever declared himself a catholic, except being at St. Omers

* "Fanaticism fanatically imputed," &c., pp. 165, 166. Printed in 1672.

† See Remark xxv.

amounts to such a declaration, before ever he was sent for by archbishop Laud." * 1. That noble author asserts that Mr. Chillingworth went to St. Omers ; whereas archbishop Laud, who certainly knew it best, says it was Doway. 2. He affirms that Mr. Chillingworth's opinions concerning the Romish religion were but "doubtings," and that he never "declared himself a catholic ;" but the contrary is evident, and could hardly be unknown to that noble lord, though it did not occur to his memory, when he wrote his book against Mr. Cressy.

Mr. Wood is guilty of the same error, as to the place whither Mr. Chillingworth retired beyond sea ; and he gives us the following abusive account of his change of religion, and return to the church of England : "About the same time," [1628,] says he, "being much unsettled in his thoughts, he became acquainted with one who went by the name of John Fisher, a learned Jesuit and sophistical disputant, who was often conversant in these parts [Oxford]. At length, by his persuasions, and the satisfaction of some doubts which he could not find among our great men at home, he went to the Jesuits' college at St. Omers, forsook his religion, and.....became a Roman catholic." † But "so it was, that he finding not that satisfaction from the Jesuits concerning various points of religion, or, as some say, not that respect which he expected, (for the common report among his contemporaries in Trinity College was, that the Jesuits, to try his temper, and exercise his obedience, did put him upon servile duties far below him,) he left them in the year 1631, returned to the church of England, (though the presbyterians said not but that he was always a papist in his heart, or, as we now say, in masquerade,) and was kindly received by his godfather, Dr. Laud, then bishop of London." ‡ How impro-

* "Animadversions upon a Book intituled, 'Fanaticism,' &c.," p. 185. London, 1674.

† WOOD, *ubi supra*, col. 20.

‡ *Ibid.*, col. 21.

bable, inconsistent, and malicious these reports and insinuations are, let every body judge, who is acquainted with Mr. Chillingworth's character.*

* See Remark III. p. 12.

III. HIS PARAMOUNT LOVE OF TRUTH THE REAL CAUSE OF HIS CHANGE IN RELIGION.

As Mr. Chillingworth, in his forsaking the church of England, as well as in his return to it, was solely influenced by a sincere love of truth, so he constantly persevered in that divine temper of mind. Even after his return to protestantism, he made no scruple to re-examine the grounds of it; as appears by a letter he wrote to Dr. Sheldon, containing some scruples he had about leaving the church of Rome, and returning to the church of England.† These scruples, which he thus freely declared to his friends, seem to be the occasion of a report, that he had turned papist a second time, and then protestant again.‡ But that report is not better grounded than the objection made against him, that, according to his principles, a man could be constant in no religion. (VI.) As if being always ready to be better informed, and using all possible means to attain that information, necessarily drew after it a change or inconstancy in opinions! or that forsaking what is conceived to be an error, and embracing what appears to be truth, were a crime; and a wilful, obstinate adher-

† See Remark XLV.

‡ See Remark VI. p. 23.

ence to prejudicated opinions were a virtue ! Mr. Chillingworth had far more generous and noble sentiments. Mr. Knott, in his book against Dr. Potter, having charged the protestants with being schismatics, not only from one another, but even from a man's self, because the self-same protestant to-day is convicted in conscience that his yesterday's opinion was an error ; "as Dr. Potter," says he, "knows a man in the world who from a puritan was turned to a moderate protestant :"* Mr. Chillingworth answers him thus : "It seems then," says he, "that they that hold errors must hold them fast, and take special care of being convicted in conscience that they are in error, for fear of being schismatics ! Protestants must continue protestants ; and puritans, puritans ; and papists, papists ; nay, Jews, and Turks, and pagans, must remain Jews, and Turks, and pagans, and go on constantly to the devil ; or else, forsooth, they must be schismatics, and that from themselves. And this, perhaps, is the cause that makes papists so obstinate, not only in their common superstition, but also in adhering to the proper fancies of their several sects ; so that it is a miracle to hear of any Jesuit that hath forsaken the opinion of the Jesuits, or any Dominican that hath changed his for the Jesuits'. Without question, this gentleman, my adversary, knows none such, or else methinks he should not have objected it to Dr. Potter, 'that he knew a man in the world who from a puritan was turned to a moderate protestant,' which is likely to be true. But, sure, if this

* "Charity maintained by Catholics," &c. chap. v. sect. 39.

be all his fault, he hath no reason to be ashamed of his acquaintance. For possibly it may be a fault to be in error, because many times it proceeds from a fault; but, sure, the forsaking of error cannot be a sin, unless to be in error be a virtue. And, therefore, to do as you do, to damn men for false opinions, and to call them schismatics for leaving them; to make pertinacy in error, that is, an unwillingness to be convicted, or a resolution not to be convicted, the form of heresy, and to find fault with men for being convicted in conscience that they are in error, is the most incoherent and contradictory injustice that ever was heard of.

“But, sir,” adds Mr. Chillingworth, “if this be a strange matter to you, that which I shall tell you will be much stranger. I know a man * that of a moderate protestant turned a papist; and, the day that he did so, (as all things that are done are perfected some day or other,) was convicted in conscience, that his yesterday’s opinion was an error, and yet thinks he was no schismatic for doing so, and desires to be informed by you, whether or no he was mistaken. The same man afterwards, upon better consideration, became a doubting papist, and of a doubting papist a confirmed protestant. And yet this man thinks himself no more to blame for all these changes than a traveller, who, using all diligence to find the right way to some remote city, where he had never been, (as the party I speak of had never been in heaven,) did yet mistake it, and after find his

* Mr. Chillingworth himself.

error, and amend it. Nay, he stands upon his justification so far as to maintain, that his alterations, not only to you, but also from you, by God's mercy, were the most satisfactory actions to himself that ever he did, and the greatest victories that ever he obtained over himself, and his affections to those things which in this world are most precious ; as wherein, for God's sake, and, as he was verily persuaded, out of love to the truth, he went upon a certain expectation of those inconveniences, which to ingenuous natures are of all most terrible. So that though there were much weakness in some of these alterations, yet certainly there was no wickedness. Neither does he yield his weakness altogether without apology, seeing his deductions were rational, and out of some principles commonly received by protestants as well as papists, and which by his education had got possession of his understanding." *

Mr. Chillingworth, we see, was so far from thinking such changes of religion sinful or disreputable, that he glories in them, and makes them a matter of triumph. And that he never departed from that free, honest, and generous spirit, doth sufficiently appear by the following passage of his preface to Mr. Knott. For he declares, that he was as willing to be convinced by that Jesuit's reasons, had they appeared to him better grounded than his own, as the Jesuit could be desirous they might produce that effect.

"Neither, truly, were you more willing," says he, "to effect such an alteration in me than I was

* "The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation," &c., chap. v. sect. 103.

to have it effected. For my desire is to go the right way to eternal happiness. But whether this way lie on the right hand or the left, or straight forwards; whether it be by following a living guide, or by seeking my direction in a book, or by hearkening to the secret whisper of some private spirit; to me it is indifferent. And he that is otherwise affected, and hath not a traveller's indifference, (which Epictetus requires in all that would find the truth,) but much desires, in respect of his ease, or pleasure, or profit, or advancement, or satisfaction of friends, or any human consideration, that one way should be true rather than another; it is odds but he will take his desire that it should be so, for an assurance that it is so. But I, for my part, unless I deceive myself, was and still am so affected as I have made profession; not willing, I confess, to take any thing upon trust, and to believe it without asking myself why; no, nor able to command myself (were I never so willing) to follow, like a sheep, every shepherd that should take upon him to guide me, or every flock that should chance to go before me; but most apt and most willing to be led by reason to any way or from it; and always submitting all other reasons to this one,—‘God hath said so; therefore, it is true.’ Nor yet was I so unreasonable as to expect mathematical demonstrations from you in matters plainly incapable of them, such as are to be believed, and, if we speak properly, cannot be known; such, therefore, I expected not. For as he is an unreasonable master who requires a stronger assent to his conclusions than his arguments deserve, so I conceive him a

froward and undisciplined scholar who desires stronger arguments for a conclusion than the matter will bear. But had you represented to my understanding such reasons of your doctrine as, being weighed in an even balance, held by an even hand, with those on the other side, would have turned the scale, and have made your religion more credible than the contrary, certainly I should have despised the shame of one more alteration, and with both mine arms and all my heart most readily have embraced it.” *

And this noble disposition the Jesuit calls Mr. Chillingworth’s inconstancy in religion! whereas in reality it was his steadiness and constancy in following that way to heaven which, for the present, seemed to him the most probable; as he very well observes himself.†

* Preface, &c., *ubi supra*, sect. 2.

† *Ibid.*, sect. 5.

REMARKS.

VI.—PAGE 18.

That according to his principles a man could be constant in no religion—Mr. Knott, in one of his pamphlets against Mr. Chillingworth, hath a whole chapter to prove that his principles “lay grounds to be constant in no religion.” But how he makes good that imputation will appear by the examination of one or two paragraphs of that chapter.

“I said in the beginning,” says our Jesuit, “that as we could not know the way, unless we first be told whither we go; so it could little avail us to be put in a way, if by following it we might be misled. But suppose the end of

our journey be known, and the right way found, what better shall we be, if withal we be continually hearkening to some suggestions, which never let us rest till we have abandoned that path, by following other cross-ways, as we chance to fall upon them?" * Mr. Knott's design is, to assert the infallibility of the church of Rome, by showing that, without such an infallible guide, we can neither find out the true religion, nor be constant in it, though we should happen to have found it. In order to prove that assertion, he says, that "as we could not know the way unless we first be told whither we go; so it could little avail us to be put in a way, if by following it we might be misled." This whole objection has no other support than what arises from the metaphorical use of the words, "way," or "path." As if men could not possibly be saved, or get to heaven, unless by following some one particular set of tenets, dictated by a pope, or council, or both! for this the word "way" signifies, as it is used by our Jesuit. But when this comes to be applied to the point in hand, it will be found a mere begging the question. For it supposes, 1. That there must be a standing infallible guide; which is the matter in debate: and, 2. That a man cannot possibly mistake the directions of that infallible guide. Now, the scriptures are the words of an infallible Guide, which tell us "the way;" and if an infallible interpreter of them be necessary, we shall want an infallible interpreter of that infallible interpreter, till a possibility of mistake is excluded.

"But suppose," pursues Mr. Knott, "the end of our journey be known, and the right way found, what better shall we be, if withal we be continually hearkening to some suggestions, which never let us rest till we have abandoned that path, by following other cross-ways, as we chance to fall upon them?" I grant, that if men were infallible, and infallibly knew themselves to be so, it would

* "Christianity maintained," &c., chap. x. sect. i. p. 71.

be very absurd for them to make farther inquiries. But how will our Jesuit prove that a man can be infallibly sure he hath found the right way? And if he cannot prove that, what can a man do better than to be continually ready to use and obey his reason? Besides, why may we not be constant in the way we have chosen, if we never meet with any motives strong enough to make us alter our choice? Is not this the case of the protestants? And we have an egregious instance of it in Mr. Chillingworth himself, who, by his inquiry having found that the protestant religion was the best way, was ever constant in it afterwards; though he was all the while ready to follow a better way, in case it could have been made known to him. Our Jesuit brings him in, however, as a proof of his assertion.

"This is the case," says he, "of the man with whom we have to deal. I will not build upon his deeds, I mean his changes, first from protestant to catholic, then from catholic to protestant, and then about again to catholic." * He speaks here of this third change, as if he had no doubt about it; but he is less confident in another place. "No less liberty," says he, "doth this doctrine † afford for believing, than it doth for living; giving scope to apostasies, and endless changes of religion, as this man's four-fold alteration makes manifest, if all be true which is reported of him." ‡ Which shows that this third change, namely, from protestant to catholic, was only a report or a hearsay. But what he durst not affirm in the first chapter of that pamphlet, he takes for granted in the tenth: "I mean his changes," says he, "first from protestant to catholic, then from catholic to protestant, and then about again to catholic; till at last," adds he, "he be come to that pass, that it is hard to say what he is, neither precisian, nor subscriber

* *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 72.

† That "faith necessary to salvation is not infallible;" which sophistical proposition will be considered hereafter.

‡ *Ibid.*, chap. i. sect. x. p. 22.

to the Thirty-nine Articles,* nor confessed Socinian, nor right Christian, according to the grounds which he hath laid. If you will believe himself, for matters of religion, he is constant in nothing, but in 'following that way to heaven which, for the present, seems to him the most probable.' He follows that which 'at the present seems most probable;' a poor comfort in matters of faith, wherein error is of so great consequence! And yet this cold comfort is upon the point of being lost; for the probability is limited to *the present*." †

It is true, that "the probability is limited to the present;" but that present will subsist and continue till something better be offered; which neither Mr. Knott, nor anybody of his communion, could do, in the judgment of Mr. Chillingworth. He charges Mr. Chillingworth's principle (which is the principle of all protestants) with being but "a poor comfort;" I will, therefore, compare it with Mr. Knott's principle, (which is the principle of the church of Rome,) that we may see which of the two is the most comfortable. The whole matter comes to this: There are two ways proposed to go to heaven,—reason or inquiry, and authority or submission. By the first, which is Mr. Chillingworth's way, a man will examine which way is the best; and though he is now convinced that he hath found the right way, upon the best inquiry he could make, yet, as he knows his judgment is not infallible, he will still be ready to follow a better way, if such a one can be proposed to him; but, till then, will be fixed and constant in that way which he hath preferred before all others. Thus, having made the best use he could of his sense, reason, and capacity, he hath acted in a manner perfectly agreeable to the nature and duty of a rational being; which is certainly the best comfort a man can have.‡ Whereas, according to

* See Remark XL.

† *Ibid.*, chap. x. p. 71.

‡ It follows from thence, that changes of religion, when only made in the pursuit of truth, and attended with a humble, impartial, and charita-

Mr. Knott's, or the Romish, way, a man must renounce his sense and reason, and blindly submit to authority.

ble subsequent behaviour, deserve the highest commendation ; though they are commonly accounted odious and infamous. See MR. BAYLE'S "Dictionary," in the article of WEIDNERUS, Remark A.

Bayle's remarks upon Paul Weidnerus contain much truth, and I subjoin part of them in this note, since they are strictly applicable to the course of conduct which the Papists pursued towards such a man of pure morals, candour, and ingenuousness, as was Chillingworth. Weidnerus was a Jew, who practised as a physician in Carinthia, in 1553. About that time he began to compare the Old and the New Testaments together, and became convinced that Jesus Christ is the Messiah. He hesitated a whole year concerning his public profession of Christianity ; but at length his spiritual interests prevailed over all merely human considerations. Retiring, therefore, from Carinthia, he proceeded to Vienna ; and, with his wife and four children, was solemnly baptized into the faith of Christ, August 21st, 1558, in St. Stephen's church in that city. Too soon he experienced the animosity of his brethren ; but as he had powerful protectors, the rage of his adversaries was rendered comparatively innocuous. "He was not ignorant of the dangers," says Bayle, "to which he would expose himself, should he acquaint the Jews with the state of his mind," after he had been powerfully convinced of the Messiahship of Christ Jesus ; and to this sentence he adds the subsequent note :—

"For a person to be firmly persuaded of the truth of a religion, to resolve to profess it, and yet to suffer many struggles in his soul before he executes that design,—are not things incompatible with each other. There are few designs the execution of which is more liable to be thwarted, than that of changing one's religion. For, (not to mention other obstacles,) is not every intended convert aware that by that act he will exasperate those for whom he entertains the greatest love and veneration ? Does not he know, that he will become both odious and infamous to his relations ? I say *infamous* : for, it is the usual practice in all nations to affix a mark of infamy on every man who forsakes his religion. Not satisfied with calling him a *deserter* and an *apostate*, they also brand him with the name of *renegado*. They affirm, that his desertion is a disgrace to his family ; and I myself knew a female devotee, who was accustomed to assert, with great seriousness, that she would rather see her sisters walking the streets as prostitutes, than crowding with others to hear Mass. These horrid notions are serviceable to the temporal interests of a

And as authority, as such, is the same, and hath an equal right, every where ; (for by authority here is meant no more than an order or command ;) according to that way,

religious community, and they are on that account generally encouraged. A casuist will evince no signs of displeasure when he sees a father turn his sons out of doors, because they have changed the profession of their faith ; or when, under similar circumstances, he beholds a brother discontinue all friendly intercourse with his own brother, or a wife exhibit all the signs of rancorous hatred towards her husband. If the protestants accuse the Roman catholics of being guilty of this kind of persecution, the latter recriminate, and aver that protestants are equally culpable. Be this as it may, it is undeniable that this practice frequently operates as a scare-crow to many who feel a strong persuasion within their own breasts, that they ought to leave the bosom of the church of which they have been members. Some religious orders conceive themselves to be so greatly disgraced by the apostasy of a deserving monk,—believing that it will prove a fatal stumbling-block to the faith of weak persons, and furnish a fine opportunity for their opponents to triumph,—that they would leave no device unattempted against every one who might discover the least sign of his intention to abandon their society. The Jews are of the same cast. Did they not attempt to assassinate and murder Spinoza ? And did not they endeavour to effect the destruction of our Weidnerus after his conversion to Christianity ? I must not omit to notice a dreadful species of persecution, which is an invariable attendant on all such as think it right to change their religious profession. Multitudes of defamatory libels are levelled against them ; the entire course of their lives is narrowly scanned ; and the slightest blemishes that can be detected in them are instantly blazoned abroad, with every possible aggravation, and in a manner at once artful and injurious. The most inconsiderable errors of their youth are not pardoned. If any letters written in the unsuspecting confidence of friendship can be found, they are sure to be published, provided that out of them may be gleaned any thing which may seem to be disreputable. In a word : for the interest of their own community, and for counteracting the dreaded influence on others which such a change might produce ; their former friends will not scruple to magnify into crimes of great turpitude those very actions which would have excited no unkind animadversion whatever, had but the parties in question remained members of their community, and on account of which they would not have been the less esteemed or beloved.”—EDIT.

a man ought to be not only a protestant in England, and a papist at Rome, but a Mahometan in Turkey, and a pagan in Japan. Now, what comfort can a man have, who acts as the most irrational creature ; and must be constant in the religious way of the country wherein he happened to be born, or where he chances to live, whether it be pagan or Mahometan, as well as Christian ? If it be said, that he is obliged to examine the authority proposed, and be satisfied with its grounds and lawfulness, before he submits to it ; then he must be his own guide in that examination, and led by his reason and by the greatest probability ; and, consequently, he must abandon Mr. Knott's, or the popish, principle, and act according to the principle of Mr. Chillingworth, and of all the protestants.

I shall hardly find a more proper opportunity than this to take notice of a horrid calumny put upon Mr. Chillingworth by Dr. Wood, in one of his controversial letters to Mr. Bulstrode. "Can there be any thing more notoriously false," says he, "than the words of Chillingworth, cited by you?—'I see plainly, and with my own eyes, councils against councils,' (if he means general councils, it is false,) 'a consent of fathers of one age, against a consent of fathers of another age ; the church of one age, against the church of another age.' If I could find what he said here to be true, I would soon discard all revealed religion, and would turn deist ; for I do not see any argument that can be more for a deist's purpose than this ; and, if the truth were known, he was one in masquerade ; for a confirmation of which I can give you a very good testimony, that, at the bottom, he was such, notwithstanding his book which he writ against us : Chillingworth, having an intimate friendship with the gentleman-of-the-horse to the grandfather, as I think, of the present lord Mountague of Coudrey, was asked by this gentleman, (who hearing all the world extolling Chillingworth for his great learning, and particularly in controversy,) as a true and sincere friend, to tell

him his opinion, freely and candidly, which was the true religion ; to which he answered in short, that he [the inquirer] should keep to the religion in which he was, (which was the Roman catholic,) for if there were any religion, that it was the right ; and that if there were none, that the worst that could happen to him was but so much pains lost. I do not say that these are the words of his letter, but I remember that they were much to this purpose. Now, it is plain by this letter, (which I do not doubt but that you will say it is feigned,) that this great champion of your religion was but a sceptic in religion at the best, and what most of your greatest men are ; for if they can believe that so many learned and holy men have been deceived for so many ages in matters of this consequence, have they not reason to doubt, that these latter ages have been deceived so too ; and so, consequently, there must be very little or no security of the certainty of the Christian faith ?” *

Dr. Wood, we see, represents here Mr. Chillingworth as a deist in masquerade, and one who was “but a sceptic in religion at the best ;” and endeavours to prove that imputation by a letter written by Mr. Chillingworth, when a professed protestant, to a Roman catholic gentleman of his acquaintance, wherein he tells him “that he should keep to the religion in which he was ; for if there were any religion, that it was the right,” &c. But is it probable that Mr. Chillingworth, had he been of that opinion, would have trusted it to writing ? And is it possible that the Roman catholics, who never spared Mr. Chillingworth’s reputation, should have such a letter so long in their hands, and not have made it sooner a matter of reproach to him ? So that, till the original of that letter be produced, we

* “ Letters between Dr. Wood, a Roman Catholic, the Pretender’s Physician, and Whitelock Bulstrode, Esq., a Member of the Church of England,” &c., pp. 136, *et seq.* That Letter is dated June 14th, 1710.

have, I think, sufficient grounds to look upon Dr. Wood's assertion as a shameless calumny.

IV. HIS CANDOUR, MODERATION, AND CHARITY.
HIS CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. LEWGAR.

MR. CHILLINGWORTH was no less conspicuous for his candour, moderation, charity, and good nature, than for his love of truth; an instance of which he gave in the case of Mr. Lewgar, a great zealot for the church of Rome. (VII.)* There had always been an intimate friendship between him and Mr. Chillingworth; but as soon as he heard that Mr. Chillingworth was returned to the church of England, he sent him a very angry and abusive letter; to which Mr. Chillingworth returned an answer full of love and charity. "Though I am resolved," says he, "not to be much afflicted for the loss of that which [it] is not in my power to keep, yet I cannot deny but the loss of a friend goes very near unto my heart; and by this name of a friend I did presume, till of late, that I might have called you, because, though perhaps for want of power and opportunity, I have done you no good office, yet I have been always willing and ready to do you the best service I could; and therefore I cannot but admire at that affected strangeness which, in your last letter to me, you seem to take upon you, renouncing, in a manner, all relation to me, and tacitly excommu-

* See Remark VII. at the end of this section, p. 38.

nicating me from all interest in you. The superscription of your letter is, 'To Mr. William Chillingworth,' and your subscription, 'John Lewgar,' as if you either disdained or made a conscience of styling me your friend, or yourself mine. If this proceed from passion and weakness, I pray mend it; if from reason, I pray show it. If you think me one of those to whom St. John forbids you to say, 'God save you,' then you are to think and prove me one of those deceivers which deny Christ Jesus to be come 'in the flesh.' If you think me an heretic, and therefore to be avoided, you must prove me *αὐτοκατάκριτον*, 'condemned by my own judgment;' which I know I cannot, and therefore I think you cannot. If you say, I do not 'hear the church,' and therefore am to be esteemed an heathen or publican, you are to prove, that by 'the church,' there, is meant the church of Rome; and yet, when you have done so, I hope Christians are not forbidden to show humanity and civility even to pagans. For God's sake, Mr. Lewgar, free yourself from this blind zeal, at least for a little space, and consider with reason and moderation what strange crime you can charge me with, that should deserve this strange usage, especially from you. Is it a crime to endeavour with all my understanding to find your religion true, and to make myself a believer of it, and not be able to do so? Is it a crime to employ all my reason upon the justification of the infallibility of the Roman church, and to find it impossible to be justified? I will call God to witness, who knows my heart better than you, that I have evened the scale of my judgment as much as possibly I could, and

have not willingly allowed any one grain of worldly motives on either side ; but have weighed the reasons for your religion and against [it] with such indifference, as if there were nothing in the world but God and myself ; and is it my fault, that that scale goes down which hath the most weight in it ? that that building falls which has a false foundation ? Have you such power over your understanding, that you can believe what you please, though you see no reason ? or that you can suspend your belief when you do see reason ? If you have, I pray, for our old friendship's sake, teach me that trick ; but, until I have learned it, I pray blame me not for going the ordinary way ; I mean, for believing or not believing, as I see reason. If you can convince me of wilful opposition against the known truth, of negligence in seeking it, of unwillingness to find it, of preferring temporal respects before it, or of any other fault which [it] is in my power to amend, that is indeed a fault if I amend it not, be as angry with me as you please. But, to impute to me involuntary errors, or that I do not see that which I would see, but cannot ; or that I will not profess that which I do not believe ; certainly this is far more unreasonable error than any which you can justly charge me with ; for, let me tell you, the imputing Socinianism to me, whosoever was the author of it, was a wicked and groundless slander.

“ Perhaps you will say,—for this is the usual song on that side,—that pride is a voluntary fault ; and with this I am justly chargeable, for forsaking that guide which God has appointed me to follow. But what, if I forsook it because I thought I had

reason to fear it was one of those blind guides which whosoever blindly follows is threatened, by our Saviour, that both he and his guide shall fall into the ditch ; then I hope you will grant it was not pride, but conscience, that moved me to do so ; for as it is wise humility to obey those whom God hath set over me, so it is sinful credulity to follow every man or every church that without warrant will take upon them to guide me. Show me, then, some good and evident title which the church of Rome hath to this office ; produce but one reason for it, which, upon trial, will not finally be resolved, and vanish into uncertainties ; and if I yield not unto it, say, if you please, I am as proud as Lucifer.” *

Mr. Chillingworth says afterwards, that it seems to him very “ strange, and not far from a prodigy, that this doctrine of the Roman church’s being the guide of faith, or having the privilege of infallibility, if it be true doctrine, should not be known to the evangelists, to the apostles, and to the primitive church,” as he shows it was not ; and concludes thus : “ All these things,” says he, “ and many more, are very strange to me, if the infallibility of the Roman church be indeed, and were always by Christians acknowledged, the foundation of our faith ; and therefore, I beseech you, pardon me, if I choose to build mine upon one that is much firmer and safer, and lies open to none of these objections, which is scripture and universal tradition ; and, if one that is of this faith may

* “ A Letter to Mr. Lewgar,” at the end of MR. CHILLINGWORTH’S “ Religion of Protestants,” &c. London, 1687. 4to.

have leave to do so, I will subscribe, with hand and heart,

“Your very loving and true friend,” &c.

This letter, for the excellency of it, hath been often printed. (VIII.)

Mr. Lewgar could not help being touched with a letter which showed so much love, sincerity, and moderation. He desired to see his old friend again; and Mr. Chillingworth had a discourse with him about religion before Mr. Skinner and Dr. Sheldon.* There passed afterwards several papers between them, concerning the pretended infallibility and catholicity of the church of Rome; and we have a paper of Mr. Chillingworth,† which seems to contain the abstract or summary of their dispute. The question in debate was, “Whether the church of Rome be the catholic church, and all out of her communion are heretics or schismatics?” Mr. Lewgar held the affirmative, and Mr. Chillingworth the negative. The arguments on both sides are set down, with the answers and replies to them. This method hath the advantage of bringing a controversy within a narrow compass, and of showing at one view the weight of the arguments, the closeness of the answers, and the justness of the conclusions; and thereby it was the most suited to Mr. Chillingworth’s clear, impartial, and strong way of arguing.

We have, in the same manner, the substance of

* See the “Conference betwixt Mr. Chillingworth and Mr. Lewgar,” in the “Additional Discourses of Mr. Chillingworth, never before printed.” London, 1687. 4to, p. 1, &c.

† *Ibid.*

a dispute he had with Mr. Daniel,* wherein he disproves the infallibility of the church of Rome, by an argument taken from the contradictions which are contained in the doctrine of transubstantiation.† He had another with a gentleman he does not name, in which he confutes the same infallibility, by proving that either the present church of Rome errs, in offering tapers and incense to the Virgin Mary, or that the ancient church of Rome did err, in condemning as heretics the Collyridians, for offering a cake to her.‡

Besides the pieces already mentioned, Mr. Chillingworth wrote one to demonstrate that the doctrine of infallibility, the main point of the Romish votaries, is neither evident of itself, nor grounded upon certain and infallible reasons, nor warranted by any passage of the scripture.§ And, in two other papers, he shows that the church of Rome hath formerly erred, first, by the admitting of infants to the eucharist, and holding, that without it they could not be saved; || and, secondly, by teaching the doctrines of the millenaries; namely, that before the world's end Christ should reign upon earth for a thousand years, and that the saints should live under him in all holiness and happiness: ¶ both which doctrines are condemned as false and heretical by the present church of Rome. He writ also a short letter, in answer to some objections put to him by one of his friends,

* MR. WOOD, *ubi supra*, vol. ii. c. 114, observes, that John Floyd, a Jesuit, went by the name of Daniel, or Dan. à Jesu. See Remark xxxvi.

† "Additional Discourses," &c., *ubi supra*, p. 91.

‡ Page 26.

|| Page 68.

† "Additional

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¶ Page 80.

wherein he shows that neither the fathers nor the councils are infallible witnesses of tradition, and that the infallibility of the church of Rome must first of all be proved from the scripture. He concludes with these words: "Remember, that if we have any infallible way, we have no use (at least no necessity) of an infallible guide; for if we may be saved by following the scripture as near as we can, (though we err,) it is as good as any interpreter to keep unity in charity, (which is only needful,) though not in opinion; and this cannot be ridiculous, because they say, if any man misinterpret the Council of Trent, it shall not damn him; and why, without any more ado, may not the same be said of scripture?" *

I must not forget his answer to some passages in the dialogues published under the name of Mr. Rushworth. The occasion was this: The lord Digby desired Mr. Chillingworth to meet Mr. White, the true author of these dialogues, at the lodgings of sir Kenelm Digby, a late convert to the church of Rome. The lord Digby was there himself. Their conference turned upon tradition; and as Mr. White had treated the same matter in his dialogues, which were not yet published, Mr. Chillingworth, probably at the request of the lord Digby, selected out of them some passages relating to that subject, and confuted them.† See the Remarks. (ix.)

The foregoing pieces were published in the year 1687, under the title of "Additional Discourses of Mr. Chillingworth, never before printed." ‡ There

* *Ibid.*, p. 90.
xxxiv.

† Page 103.

‡ See Remark

are some other writings of his against the church of Rome, which have not, as yet, been made public; namely, 1. "An Answer to five Questions," proposed to him by Mr. Peake, "about the Nature of Faith, and the Resolution and Consequences of the Faith of Protestants." 2. "A Discourse of the Nature of Faith." 3. "Of the Absurdity of departing from the Church of England for Want of Succession of visible Professors in all Ages." 4. "A brief Answer to several Texts of Scripture alleged to prove the Church to be one, visible, universal, perpetual, and infallible." *

* See Remark XLV.

REMARKS.

VII.—PAGE 31.

Mr. Lewgar, a great zealot for the church of Rome— Mr. Wood tells us, that, about the year 1632, Mr. Lewgar was beneficed in Essex, but afterwards left his benefice and religion, and turned Roman catholic; being induced to it by the force of Mr. Chillingworth's arguments.† "After William Chillingworth," says he, "returned from beyond the seas, he had several conferences with him about matters of religion; wherein Chillingworth showing himself a person of great dexterity, Lewgar was at length, merely by the force of his arguments, induced to believe that the Roman church was a true church, and that the protestants were all in the wrong; as he used often to tell his friends, and withal to add, that 'Chillingworth was of no meek and winning spirit, but high and conceited; and

† *Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. ii. c. 241, 242.

so, consequently, unfit for a religion that required humility and obedience,' &c." *

If Mr. Chillingworth, before he was a settled protestant, did "by the force of his arguments" induce Mr. Lewgar to turn papist, it seems very strange that Mr. Lewgar should say nothing about it in his angry letter to him; for, had he taken notice of it, no doubt but Mr. Chillingworth would have said something to him upon that head. But no such thing appears in his answer.† The truth is, Mr. Wood knew nothing of Mr. Chillingworth's letter to Mr. Lewgar, nor of the papers that passed between them, though they were printed a long time before his *Athenæ Oxonienses* came out.‡ As to what he adds, that Mr. Lewgar used often to tell his friends, that Mr. Chillingworth was "high and conceited," &c., such representation is indeed agreeable to the notion which Mr. Chillingworth gives of Mr. Lewgar, in the answer to his letter; but which of them best deserved the character of "high and conceited," Mr. Chillingworth or Mr. Lewgar, let that very answer of Mr. Chillingworth determine. However, it is true, that Mr. Chillingworth was "unfit for a religion that required humility and obedience," in Mr. Lewgar's sense; that is, for a religion that required an implicit faith, or a blind submission to her new doctrines and unwarrantable practices.

VIII—PAGE 35.

That letter, for the excellency of it, hath been often printed—It was first printed in the year 1662, with this title: "Mr. Chillingworth's Letter touching Infallibility." § In the last page is the *imprimatur* of M. Franck, chaplain to Dr. Sheldon, then bishop of London, dated the 5th of August, 1662.||

* *Ibid.* † See the text, pp. 31—34. ‡ See Remark xxxiv.
§ London, printed by D. Maxwell, for Timothy Garthwait, in 4to, pp. xii.
|| *Sextilis* 5, 1662.

It was afterwards inserted in the fifth edition of Mr. Chillingworth's "Religion of the Protestants," &c., in the year 1684, under this title: "Reasons against Popery; in a Letter from Mr. William Chillingworth to his Friend, Mr. Lewgar, persuading him to return to his Mother, the Church of England, from the corrupt Church of Rome." *

It was printed again at the end of the contracted edition of Mr. Chillingworth's "Religion of Protestants," &c., in 1687, with this title: † "Out of Mr. Chillingworth's Manuscript. A Letter to Mr. Lewgar, concerning the Church of Rome's being the Guide of Faith and Judge of Controversies." ‡

But, notwithstanding all these several impressions, Mr. Grascome, having met with an imperfect copy of it, inserted it as a piece of Mr. Chillingworth never before published, in the preface of his book, entitled, "*Certamen Religiosum*; or, a Dispute, managed by Writing, between a Papist and a Protestant.....With.....a large Letter of Mr. Chillingworth, never before printed, showing his Reasons why he deserted the Church of Rome." § Mr. Grascome gives the following account of it in his preface:—

"It would be a matter of no difficulty," says he, "to show, in many other instances, upon what weak and sandy foundations these men [the papists] build their daring confidence; and I had some thoughts of pursuing it; but, whilst I was thinking that might be too tedious for a preface, it came into my mind, that I had a small thing by me relating to this subject, which might be more gratefully accepted and eagerly desired, than any thing that can come from the living. It is well known, that Mr. Chillingworth, by the indefatigable labours of the Romanists, was for

* See Remark xxxiv.

† *Ibid.*

‡ This letter to

Mr. Lewgar has been lately reprinted at the end of the contracted edition of Chillingworth's "Religion of Protestants," in 12mo, 1841. Simpkin and Marshall.—EDIT.

§ Printed at Oxford in 1704,

in 8vo.

some time brought over to their church ; but, by the pains and care of our most reverend and learned archbishop Laud, of blessed memory, was brought back again to the church of England, wherein he lived and died, and his sincerity therein both his life and learned labours sufficiently testify ; yet they were very unwilling to lose so great a prize, and for some time after solicited him to return, till a letter from him put them out of all hopes. This letter the judicious and learned knight, sir Thomas Fanshaw, who hath been a curious collector and preserver of things uncommon or excellent in their kind, was pleased to communicate to me ; and because I am not without hope, that those reasons which prevailed with so learned a man as Mr. Chillingworth to abandon the church of Rome, may have some good influence on others, to deter them from going over to it, I will here give a true copy of his letter." The famous Dr. Hickes, though a man who had a great knowledge of books, thought this piece had been first published by Mr. Grascome ; and he reprinted it in 1705, in the appendix to a book entitled, "Several Letters which passed between Dr. George Hickes, and a popish Priest, upon occasion of a young Gentlewoman's departing from the Church of England to that of Rome." He prefixed this title to it : "Mr. Chillingworth's Letter of the Infallibility of the Church of Rome, or of that Doctrine which teaches the Roman Church to be the Guide of Faith. Taken from the printed Copy in the Preface to a Book entitled, '*Certamen Religiosum* ; or, a Dispute between a Papist and a Protestant,' &c. Oxford. Printed 1704.'" And, in the preface to that volume, speaking of the appendix, he says : "The second paper is a letter of Mr. Chillingworth, about the infallibility of the church of Rome. I have published it again from a late printed copy, because I think it worthy to be read of all men, especially by protestants, who, when they happen to be assaulted publicly or privately by popish priests, may make this use of it, to defy them to answer this letter, and in the mean time to forbear."

IX.—PAGE 37.

See the Remarks—The reader may perhaps be glad to know what grounds I have for some things affirmed in the foregoing paragraph.

1. I said, that Mr. White was the true author of the dialogues printed under the name of Mr. Rushworth. These dialogues were first published at Paris in the year 1640, in 12mo, with this title: "The Dialogues of William Richworth; or, the Judgment of common Sense in the Choice of Religion." That edition contains three dialogues; and, in a short preface, it is said that Richworth, their author, died in the year 1637. They were reprinted in 1654, at London, (though the title hath Paris,) in 12mo., with the name of Rushworth, instead of Richworth; and these words are added in the title: "Last Edition, corrected and enlarged by Thomas White, Gent." In the advice to the reader, Mr. White still attributes those dialogues to Mr. Rushworth; and observes, that, in this edition, "besides a very considerable polishment of the whole," it hath "the addition of a preface and a fourth dialogue." The same year, 1654, Mr. White put out "An Apology for Rushworth's Dialogues: wherein the Exceptions of the Lords Falkland and Digby are answered," &c.;* and, in the advertisement, he desires the reader to take notice, that this Apology "particularly relates to the last edition of Rushworth's Dialogues in.....1654, as which alone," says he, "has felt throughout this author's last hand;" which plainly shows that William Rushworth and Thomas White are one and the same person. And, indeed, whoever compares the edition of 1640 with that of 1654, will find such alterations as it is hardly possible Mr. White would have made in the work of another author, but had a right to make in his own. Dr. Tillotson says, that he

* A small 8vo, supposed to be printed at Paris.

"hath reason to believe that Mr. White was the author of those dialogues which pass under Rushworth's name." *

2. As to the conference Mr. Chillingworth had with Mr. White, at the request of the lord Digby, I will cite that lord's own words, in one of his letters to sir Kenelm Digby : " Now, for proof of the ground itself," says he, " that all doctrines of faith whatsoever admitted in the present church, were so taught by Christ to the church which he planted himself, you allege this argument : ' The reason why the present church believeth any proposition to be of faith, is, because the immediate preceding church of the age before delivered it unto her for such ; and so you may drive it on,' say you, ' from age to age, until you come to the apostles and Christ : ' an easy progress ; and which, if you remember, Mr. White much insisted upon at the time when Mr. Chillingworth did me the favour to give him a meeting for conference at your lodging." †

3. Now, that Mr. Chillingworth had a manuscript copy of these dialogues, when he answered some passages in them, I infer from this,—that all those passages, except the first, are wanting in the several impressions of the dialogues ; and it is probable that they were struck out of the manuscript by Mr. White, after he had seen Mr. Chillingworth's answer. However, the editor of that paper of Mr. Chillingworth hath entitled it, " An Answer to some Passages in Rushworth's Dialogues, beginning at the third Dialogue, (section xii., page 181. Ed. Paris, 1654,) about Traditions ;" ‡ taking for granted that all those passages are to be found in the third dialogue : which he might be led into, by finding the first passage to be as cited ; and concluding, without looking further, that the rest did follow.

* " The Rule of Faith," &c., p. 119 of the second edition, 1676.

† " Letters between the Lord George Digby, and Sir Kenelm Digby, Knight, concerning Religion." London, 1651, pp. 84, 85. That Letter is dated, " Sherborn, March 30th, 1639."

‡ See Remark XXXIV.

V. THE OCCASION OF HIS ANSWER TO KNOTT.
HIS OPINION CONCERNING ARIANISM.

BUT, in the year 1635, he was engaged in a work that gave him a far greater opportunity to confute the principles of the church of Rome, and to vindicate the protestant religion. The Jesuit I have already mentioned, who went by the name of Edward Knott, (x.)* had put out, in 1630, a little book, in 8vo., called, "Charity mistaken, with the Want whereof Catholics are unjustly charged, for affirming, as they do with grief, that Protestancy unrepented destroys salvation." That book was answered by Dr. Potter, Provost of Queen's College, in Oxford; and his answer came out in 1633, with this title: "Want of Charity justly charged on all such Romanists as dare, without truth or modesty, affirm, that Protestancy destroyeth Salvation; in Answer to a late Popish Pamphlet, intituled, 'Charity mistaken,' &c."† The Jesuit replied, in 1634, under this title: "Mercy and Truth: or, Charity maintained by Catholics. By way of Reply, upon an Answer lately framed by Dr. Potter, to a Treatise which had formerly proved, that Charity was mistaken by Protestants; with the Want whereof Catholics are unjustly charged, for affirming, that Protestancy unrepented destroys Salvation: divided into two Parts." Mr. Chillingworth undertook to answer that reply; which gave him frequent occa-

* See Remark x. at the end of this section.
the article POTTER (CHRISTOPHER).

† See

sions to resort to his most ingenious and learned friend the lord Falkland, at Great Tew, his lordship's seat in Oxfordshire, who could not only assist him with his curious library, but help him by his conversation. (XI.)

About that time Mr. Chillingworth wrote a letter to one of his friends, who, it seems, had desired to know what judgment might be made of Arianism from the sense of antiquity. I shall give it here, such as I transcribed it from Mr. Chillingworth's original, which was communicated to me in April, 1719. And, for the further satisfaction of the reader, I will set down at large, in the Remarks, some of the passages cited or referred to by Mr. Chillingworth, which I happened to light upon.

“DEAR HARRY,*

“I AM very sorry it was my ill fortune not to see thee the day that I went out of Oxford; otherwise I should have thanked thee very heartily for the favour thou didst the night before, especially for Mr. Coventry's company and discourse, whose excellent wit I do very much admire; and had I so much interest in him as you have, I should desire him often (though I hope I need not) to remember what our Saviour says, ‘To whom much is given, of them much shall be required.’

“Mr. Taylor did much confirm my opinion of his sufficiency; but let me tell you in your ear, methinks he wants much of the ethical part of a discourser, and slights too much many times the

* The letter is without date; and, the cover being lost, it doth not appear to whom it was written.

arguments of those he discourses with ; but this is a fault he would quickly leave, if he had a friend that would discreetly tell him of it. If you or Mr. Coventry would tell him, that you heard one that knows him magnify him exceedingly for other things, but censure him for this, you might do him a very friendly office ; and my writing to you thus much gives you ground enough to say so truly ; but you must not give the least suspicion that I am the man, and therefore not do it yet a good while.

“When Dr. Sheldon comes to Oxford, I will be there again, and then will be very ready to do any service in the business you imparted to me.

“I was mistaken in my directing you to Eusebius for the matter you wot of. You shall find it in a witness much farther from exception herein than Eusebius ; even Athanasius himself, the greatest adversary of that doctrine ; and Hilary, who was his second. See the first, in *Ep. de Synodis Arim. et Seleuc.*, page 917. D. Tom. i. Edit. Paris. 1627. See the second, *De Synodis*, fol. 97. In the first, you shall find that the eighty fathers which condemned Samosatenus affirmed expressly, that ‘the Son is not of the same essence of the Father ;’ which is to contradict formally the Council of Nice, which decreed ‘the Son co-essential to the Father.’ In the second, you shall find these words to the same purpose : *Octoginta episcopi olim respuerunt τὸ homousion.* (XII.) See also, if you please, JUSTIN. *cont. Tryph.*, pp. 283, 356, 357. TERTULL. against Praxeas, c. 9. NOVATIAN. *de Trin. in fine*,

who is joined with Tertullian. ATHANAS. *Ep. de Fide Dion. Alex.*, tom. i. page 551. BASIL. tom. ii. pp. 802, 803. Edit. Paris. 1618. See ST. Hierom, *Apol. 2. cont. Ruffinum*, tom. ii. page 329. Paris. 1579. See PETAVIUS upon EPIPH. *Panarion, ad Hær. 69. quæ est Arii*, page 285 ; and consider how well he clears Lucian the martyr from Arianism, and what he there confesses of all the ancient fathers.*

* Petau's observations on the apparently artless yet unguarded language employed by some of the fathers of the church who flourished before the council of Nice, resemble those of cardinal Perron, and those of Fisher given in Remark xiv. They occur in his "Animadversions on the 69th Heresy, being that of the Arians." His words are these :—

"For the Arians boasted, that they were the disciples of Lucian the martyr. Alexander bishop of Alexandria, in a letter to Alexander bishop of Constantinople, censures Lucian the martyr as though he had embraced the dogma of Paulus Samosatenus ; and asserts, that on this account he was afterwards rejected from communion with the church, by three successive bishops of Antioch. The Arians strove most strenuously to secure the martyr for their patron, as having been one who held the same opinions with themselves. They even carried their zeal so far as to exhibit before the synod of Antioch a formulary of belief, which they published as his composition. But, in the notes to his *Martyrology*, (January 7th,) and in his *Annals of the Church*, under the years 311 and 318, Baronius clears Lucian from this Arian calumny ; and shows, that, in his earnest attempt to confute the heresy of the Sabellians, Lucian had, through his great impetuosity, proceeded a little too far towards the opposite error ; and, in order to establish a distinction between the Persons in the Trinity, he had used some expressions, which the Arians (who had their origin some time after his decease) interpreted according to their wishes, and appropriated to their own purposes. For, prior to the rise and growth of

“If you could understand French, I would refer to Perron, page 633, of his reply to king James; where you should find these words: ‘If a

those particular heresies of which each of them successively appeared as the determined adversary, and while the catholic verity which was opposed to each of those errors had not then been sufficiently developed and investigated, certain expressions were discovered in various parts of their writings which did not perfectly agree with the rule of orthodox faith.

“Not to digress, however, from this mystery and question of the Trinity: We have already observed, that Justin Martyr, in his *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*, utters nearly the same language as that of the Arians concerning the Son of God. For, in the 119th page of the Paris edition of that work, he represents the Word of God and the Son, even before he took on himself the form of human nature, as being inferior to God the Father. He asserts that it was Christ who appeared to the patriarchs; and, having in a few succeeding passages marshalled the instances of such appearances, he draws from them this conclusion: ‘From these examples it is evident, that the Son receives his appointment (*ἰνδ*) under Jehovah the Father, and acts in subservience to his will and pleasure.’ Afterwards, as often as we read in scripture, *The Lord ascended up from Abraham*; or, *The Lord spake unto Moses*; or, *The Lord came down to see the city and the tower*; or, *The Lord shut him in the ark*; and other passages similar in their import; he denies that any one of them ought to be applied to God the Father, who can neither be removed from the place in which He sits enthroned, nor has, on any occasion whatever, spoken to others; but he affirms, that ‘they appertain solely to the Son. For, if the Jews were utterly unable to bear the splendour of His Son, whom He had sent, how was it possible for them to sustain the sight of the glory and majesty of the Father himself? Wherefore, neither Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, nor any other mortal man, hath seen God the Father, who is the Lord of all things that exist: but they have seen Him, who, through the Divine Will, is both God, and his Son, and his Angel, because he is obedient to his pleasure.’

man should demand of an Arian, if he would submit to the judgment of the church of the ages precedent to that of Constantine and Martian, he

“These assertions of Justin Martyr have been imitated by Tertullian, in the 27th chapter of his second book against Marcion. It is amazing, that the Arians, who, in their insane eagerness, were above all things desirous of corroborating their mad dogmas by the testimony of the early fathers, have omitted all reference to Justin Martyr. But, as I have previously observed, we ought not only to free him from all blame, but also Lucian the martyr, and others, who, previously to the agitation and deliberate discussion of the doctrine of the Trinity, seem to have given utterance to a few sentiments in reference to it which were not the most suitable or appropriate. St. Basil makes an observation somewhat resembling this, concerning Dionysius of Alexandria, in his 41st epistle, as well as in other passages.”

In Dr. Waterland's edition of CAVE's "Literary History," A.D. 1740, the following elucidatory remarks on Lucian the martyr occur, among many others :—"Baronius tries hard to purge Lucian from the crime of the foul Samosatenian heresy ; but, in his attempts, he relies on no testimonies of the ancient fathers as his foundation. We readily grant, that Lucian at length emerged from his schism, [having collected a separate congregation during his long exclusion from the church at Antioch,] which also the aforesaid bishop Alexander seems to intimate. But whether he ever entirely laid aside or retracted his errors, is not very evident. Yet, for the sake of this martyr, who was of noble extraction, I cannot refrain from adducing on this occasion the declaration of Suidas concerning him : 'The purity of the divine doctrines was preserved by him, beyond all the eminent men of that age, with consummate beauty and the utmost solicitude ; and his sentiments on divine things will be clearly perceived by every one who peruses the truly excellent epistles which he has written.' In the year 311, the emperor Maximinus, who had recently renewed the persecution against the Christians, was residing in Nicomedia ; and Lucian was conducted as a culprit into the presence of the

would make no difficulty of it, but would press himself that the controversy might be decided by that little which remains to us of the authors of

emperor, before whom he delivered an apologetical oration in defence and explanation of his faith, and was immediately committed to prison. A circumstance which Philostorgus has related concerning him is deserving of special record : After he was confined in the dungeon, where he could have neither church nor altar ; and when, in consequence of his manacles and his wounds, he was unable to move his lacerated body from the corner where he lay ; turning himself on his back, he celebrated on his own breast (as the only altar) the solemn sacrifice of the eucharist ; of which he not only partook himself, but also distributed the sacred elements to other Christians, who surrounded him on every side as a holy choir. In the same year he was beheaded in Nicomedia ; and his body, it would seem, was ignominiously thrown into the sea. But a dolphin afterwards brought it to land, near the northern shore of the Sea of Marmora, where it obtained the rites of sepulture. As an honourable memorial to Lucian, the empress Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, founded on that spot a city, to which she gave the name of Helenopolis."

Concerning Dionysius of Alexandria, whom Petau has specified at the close of the extract, it is observed in Dr. Waterland's edition of CAVE :—" Dionysius contended nobly against Sabellius the heretic, who had his origin in Ptolemais, one of the cities in the Egyptian Pentapolis, and who in his inventive dreaming had imagined, that there is in the Holy Trinity but one *hypostasis* or substance, one person distinguished by three names. In the extreme fervour of disputation, however, Dionysius was borne too far onward, and scarcely avoided the rock of the opposite error, by teaching that in the Sacred Trinity we find not only a distinction of persons, but also a difference of essence, and an inequality of power and glory. For this he is to be excused, because his judgment was then beclouded through his excessive antipathy to heretics, and because in all his other writings his opinions are sound and orthodox. Nay, when he was personally admonished of

that time. For an Arian would find in Irenæus, Tertullian, and others which remain of those ages, that the Son is the instrument of the Father ; that

his error by the synod of Rome, he published an apology for himself, addressed to his namesake, the bishop of Rome ; in which he still sharply inveighed against the heresy of Sabellius, but was careful in giving to his former incautious expressions a suitable explanation and an orthodox meaning. Afterwards, when he had held a disputation with the Egyptian Chiliasts, he confuted and extinguished their schism and error, and that of Nepos their founder.*

* “ Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, (probably of one of the cities in the Arsinoitic præfecture,) flourished about A.D. 244. It was his wish, that those promises which are made to holy men in the sacred scriptures should be understood in a Jewish sense. In accordance with this principle he taught, that, immediately after the general resurrection, the saints will be indulged with a residence on earth for a thousand years, every moment of which will be replete with corporal delights. He derived his arguments for this opinion principally from the Apocalypse. As the orthodox contended, that the predictions in the Revelation were to be interpreted in a spiritual and allegorical sense, Nepos composed a book on this subject, to which he gave the title of Ἐλεγχον Ἀλληγοριστῶν, *A Confutation of Allegorizers*, and which obtained such favour among the Egyptians as induced them to form a schism, when whole churches departed at once from the right faith. Moreover, his followers, pouring contempt on the Gospels and on the writings of the apostles, extolled to the skies the doctrine delivered in the book of Nepos, as being ‘ a certain great and hidden mystery !’ Wherefore, Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, wrote a work *on the Promises*, in two volumes, in which he refuted the book of Nepos, then recently deceased ; and, having convened a synod, consisting of Arsinoitic presbyters, he entered into a discussion with his followers, and brought them back to a right understanding and soundness of faith. Nepos had previously composed many psalms and hymns for the use of the church, which Dionysius himself has highly praised, as being very excellent, and breathing a spirit of piety. But these productions of our Nepos seem long ago to have been lost.”

I thought a translation of Cave’s account of this early Millenarian might produce a good effect on the minds of some moderns, who seem as wise in their own conceits, as was bishop Nepos.

the Father commanded the Son in the works of creation; that the Father and the Son are *aliud et aliud* (XIII.): which things he that should

At length, in the year 265, having been summoned to the synod of Antioch, that he might enter the lists with Paulus Samosatenus, he deferred the journey on account of his advanced age and bodily infirmities. But though, in the letters which he addressed to the synod, he conveyed his sentiments, yet he disdained to accost Samosatenus even with the common salutation."

I have been somewhat diffuse in my quotations from the chief author to whom Chillingworth here refers, because all the fathers enumerated in this note flourished nearly a century before the council of Nice, and are, in consequence, justly reckoned among the highest uninspired authorities of the Christian church in its infant purity. Chillingworth's young and ardent mind had been directed, by his new friends the papists, to the study of the early ecclesiastical writers, in preference to that of the holy scriptures; though the latter are the divine sources from which the fathers themselves derived all that constitutes their peculiar excellence. With the Romish hierarchy this is a common practice; and it has usually proved to be a successful expedient in their system of proselyting bewilderment. Numbers of young theologues, considerable for their genius, of respectable attainments, but immature in judgment, have been led astray, and enticed into the popish labyrinth, through the indefinable fascinations of hoary antiquity. Feeling themselves in a state of fanciful security within the mazy enclosure, they give ample indulgence to their inventive faculty, and imagine themselves the undoubted possessors of immense theological treasures, which are only to be found in *thesauro patrum sanctorum*; and, in consequence of their forsaking HIM who is "the Fountain of living waters," are often captivated with the weakest and least tenable of the opinions which they extract out of those holy men's discursive lucubrations. But the effect of this process on Chillingworth was very different from that which had been anticipated. Instead of acting as a man of less intellectual vigour and sterling

now hold, now when the language of the church is more examined, would be esteemed a very Arian.'

sincerity would have done in such circumstances, by entertaining himself with the variable "glare of false science,"

"Which leads to bewilder, and dazzles to blind,"

which abounds in all uninspired writings, and which will be seen to form no slight defect in the theological character of several of the Christian fathers; he endeavoured to derive from their pious and learned productions such substantial and satisfying verities as might completely solve his mental scruples, and extricate him from all perplexing reasonings. He soon discovered, that the perusal of the purest and best of those famous treatises neither assisted to confirm him in the peculiar articles of his novel creed, nor qualified him to confute some of the worst heresies which had subsequently disturbed the tranquillity of the church, and had retarded the prosperity and extension of true religion. Like one who had not entirely lost the power of exercising common sense, he retraced his steps, and once more had recourse to the sacred scriptures, as the only safe guides, under the agency of the Holy Spirit, for imparting certainty to credence, and for establishing the wavering soul in that salutary "doctrine which is according to godliness." Such a well-disciplined and skilful captain in the hosts of our Israel was therefore perfectly justified, when, in his successful contests with "the man of sin," he employed that "sword of the Spirit" which Jesus wielded with such potency when "he was led up into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil: IT IS WRITTEN, Man shall not live by bread alone, but *by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.*" Every protestant, then, acts with scriptural propriety in adopting that invigorating watchword: "THE BIBLE ONLY IS THE RELIGION OF PROTESTANTS."

Poor Petau was afterwards compelled, by his brethren the Jesuits, to modify and almost to neutralize his assertions on this subject. This he effected, with evident reluctance and untowardliness, in the preface to the second

“If you read Bellarmine touching this matter, you should find that he is troubled exceedingly to find any tolerable glosses for the speeches of the

tome of his “Dogmatic Theology,” by intimating, in true popish style, that the catholic doctrine has always been the same; that the chief and essential part of this mystery has been constantly held by the church, THROUGH TRADITION; that the fathers of the early centuries after Christ agree on the whole with modern divines, as to the substance and thing itself, though not always in the manner of expressing it. He concludes with this inference: “If we meet with some obscure passages in the works of these holy doctors, the reason is, that, as they had to argue with heathens and philosophers, they did not declare with nice discrimination and accuracy the most secret and hidden part of this mystery, in the books which they published; and, in order to win over those philosophers, they gave this mystery such a turn as best agreed with Platonism, which they had studied. For a long time afterwards this was their practice, in the catechisms which were composed to instruct those whom they were desirous of alluring to Christianity, and to whom they gave only the first strokes.” This is the summary of Petau’s apologetical explanation which is given by Bossuet, the most plausible and lubricous of the polemical writers of papal Rome, in his celebrated controversy with M. Jurieu. (*Premier Avertissement aux Protestans*, 27, 28, p. 28.) I am not unmindful of the valuable talents and erudition which were subsequently devoted to the cause of Trinitarian orthodoxy, by bishop Bull, in his famous *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*, and in his *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ trium priorum sæculorum*, &c. Nor can I forget, that, when a copy of the *Judicium*, &c. had been transmitted to Bossuet by Robert Nelson, Esq., that wily and insolent prelate—in returning his own humble thanks, and the unfeigned congratulations of the whole catholic clergy of France, then assembled at St. Germain, for the eminent services which Dr. Bull had rendered to the church universal, by his very able defence of the Divinity of the Son of God, as held by the primitive fathers—introduced this insidious paragraph into that letter: “At one thing I feel extremely surprised: it is, that so great a

fathers before the council of Nice which are against him ; and yet he conceals the strongest of them ; and, to counterpoise them, cites authors

man, [as Dr. Bull,] who speaks so advantageously of the church, of that salvation which is only attainable in unity with her, and of the infallible assistance of the Holy Ghost in the council of Nice, which infers similar assistance for all others assembled in the same church, can continue a moment without acknowledging her." * Bull's admissions were, in fact, as liberal as those of Petau ; but he was a little more careful to interweave, into his doctrinal exposition of quotations from the early fathers, such a concurrent (and occasionally unwritten) tradition on this profound subject, from the days of the apostles, as suited his purpose. It served, however, at the same time to prove, (what Chillingworth had personally felt,) that the best Christian casuists, and defenders of "the common faith," are those who place the least dependence on human authority, and draw most largely from "the lively oracles of God." In reference to this "more excellent way," father Simon observes, in his *Nouvelle Bibliothèque Choisi*: "Perhaps it would have been better, if Dr. Bull had proved the mystery of the Trinity against the Socinians, by clear and formal passages of the New Testament, rather than have opposed to them a tradition which does not appear to have been altogether constant."

After all, the best defence of the earliest of these Christian fathers, as avowed by Petau and every well-informed and sound-minded man, is,—that those famous yet uninspired writers, not having been endowed with the gift of divine prescience, could form no conception of the nature and aim of those mischievous quibbles and objections

* Bull felt some indignation at this innuendo, and at some stringent queries which followed, and which Bossuet evidently intended to be binding on the conscience of such a strenuous assertor of traditional inference. This feeling produced a smart reply, in 1707, under the following title: "The Corruptions of the Church of Rome, in Relation to ecclesiastical Government, the Rule of Faith, and Form of Divine Worship: In Answer to the Bishop of Meaux's Queries."

that have indeed ancient names, but such whom he himself has stigmatized for spurious or doubtful in his book, *De Script. Eccles.*

against some of the most sublime and universally-received doctrines of Christianity, which, long after their decease, would be raised in "the perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds and destitute of the truth." On this account, therefore, their books cannot be expected to exhibit those nice distinctions and ingenious fences, within which subsequent able Christian authors had the wisdom to enclose and barricade the simple verities of "the common salvation."

The truth of the general remarks which close the preceding paragraph, is not invalidated by the sinister use which has been made of the admissions of bishop Bull and Petau, by father Simon, Dr. Samuel Clarke, and other writers of that class; who, in their intemperate haste to seize on any stray verbiage that might assist Arian perversion, have displayed neither extent of research nor common literary candour. Those remarks, the result of my own experience in the study of early Christian antiquity, are capable of receiving abundant confirmation from the testimony of many great divines. In reference to these topics, two learned and valuable historical and ecclesiastical Dissertations were published on the Continent; the one, "on the Heresy of Paul of Samosata, solely from the Fragments of his own Writings, and the Testimony of the Fathers of the Council of Antioch, by J. G. Feverlinus, Professor of Divinity in the University of Gottingen," printed in 1741; the other, "on the Errors of Paul Samosatenus, by M. J. Gottlieb Ehrlich," printed at Leipsic in 1745. The subjoined extract from the last of these Dissertations, containing a few judicious reflections on the earliest Christian fathers, and on some of their various interpreters, will recommend itself to the understanding of the ingenuous reader:—

"Indeed, I can on no account be induced to believe, that these bishops, [of the council of Antioch,] the subjects of such frequent and deserved commendation, denied that the Son is *ὁμοούσιος* with the Father, or 'of the same essence with Him;' because the church universal has always considered the council of Antioch as quite orthodox. It seems

“Were I at leisure, and had a little longer time, I could refer you to some that acknowledge Origen’s judgment to be also against them in this

to me, therefore, that much good oil has been uselessly spent, and considerable labour bestowed in vain, by William Whiston, in *A Collection of ancient Monuments relating to the Trinity and the Incarnation*, p. 117 ; by Daniel Whitby, in his *Modest Disquisitions on Bishop Bull’s Defence of the Nicene Belief*, lib. i. sect. 7 ; by Christopher Sandius, in his *Nucleus of Ecclesiastical History*, lib. i. pp. 196, 197 ; and by Dionysius Petavius, in his work *On the Trinity*, lib. i. cap. 4, who was the first patron and defender of this opinion. All these authors have had the audacity to bespatter with the mud of Arianism the venerable prelates of the council of Antioch ; and they had no better ground for such aspersion than that, in *The Confession of the six Bishops of the Council of Antioch*, which is extant in LABBE’s *Councils*, (tom. i. p. 844,) such phraseology occurs as at first sight seems to be only slightly different from the error of Arius. But what man is ignorant of this fact,—that the primitive fathers, long before that controversy had been raised, very frequently employed incautious forms of speech, although they were themselves most averse from the errors which it was in the power of any one to elicit from their expressions ? And who is so inexperienced as not to have observed, that while the fathers devote their powers solely to the overthrow of one heresy, they seem unwittingly to adopt the opposite error ?* as if he who

* One of the most familiar illustrations of this just remark may be found in St. Augustine when in combat with the Manichees, and afterwards with the Pelagians. In his management of these two great controversies, he adopted two classes of opposing principles, which, in the hands of an artful adversary, might be made, by mutual digladiations, to destroy each other. In this he is not a fit subject either for imitation or censure. Each of those controversies was a novel one ; and when attacking the adversary, at a period when the rage for sophistry was at its height, he, who had been educated as a rhetorician, seized on those well-burnished arms which were within his reach, and the brandishing of which, in his opinion, would obtain

matter. And Fisher, in his answer to Dr. White's 'Nine Questions,' has a place almost parallel to that above-cited out of Perron. (xiv.)

would be careful only to avoid Scylla, must inevitably impinge against Charybdis! It might therefore easily happen, as something not uncommon in its occurrence, that those who endeavoured to prove, in opposition to Samosatenus, the Son to be a Divine Person and distinct in personality from the Father, would seem to distinguish the Father from the Son farther than was fitting or proper. The celebrated GEORGE BULL, of whom I have often made honourable mention, has most felicitously liberated these phrases from all criminal semblance of heterodoxy, (sect. ii. cap. 13,) by comparing them with others which perspicuously exhibit true and sound doctrine. But though no one ought to raise a doubt concerning this kind of phraseology, yet there is nothing to prevent us from giving our assent to that triumvirate of mighty names, ATHANASIUS, BASIL, and HILARY, when they assert that the six bishops of this Antiochene council interdicted the use of the word *ὁμοούσιος*, (to which Paul of Samosata had craftily given a wrong signification,) lest other persons, understanding the word in its perverted meaning, should become alienated in their minds from the more healthy rule of Christian doctrine." (Pp. 13, 14.)

This quotation from a grave and orthodox divine is confirmatory of many of the observations in the preceding part of this long note, and affords another proof of the necessity which exists for every Christian to call no man MASTER except CHRIST, the Great Teacher, and constantly to recur, for the direction of his faith and practice, to those

most applause from the spectators, and deter them from deserting the standard of orthodoxy. We "upon whom the ends of the world are come," who enjoy the immense advantages which accrue from our knowledge of the success or failure of former Christian heroes, are expected to choose only such weapons in our warfare as have been proved to be "mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds." It is an axiom in moral philosophy, that the human mind is naturally liable to run into extremes; but it is the part of every wise man to study and practise Christian moderation.

“ In a word, whosoever shall freely and impartially consider of this thing, and how, on the other side, the ancient fathers’ weapons against the Arians are, in a manner, only places of scripture, (and those now, for the most part, discarded as impertinent and unconcluding,) and how, in the argument drawn from the authority of the ancient fathers, they are almost always defendants, and scarce ever opponents ; he shall not choose but confess, or at least be very inclinable to believe, that the doctrine of Arius is either a truth, or at least no damnable heresy.

“ But the carrier stays for my letter, and I have now no more time than to add, that I am,

“ Thy very true and loving friend, &c.”

great principles which “ the lively oracles of God ” exhibit in all their variety, richness, and simplicity.

Our ideas of Chillingworth’s Christian moderation and largeness of soul are greatly heightened, when we perceive, that, after he had chosen Christ Jesus, in his written word and by the teaching of his Blessed Spirit, as “ the Author and (Τελειωτήν) the Finisher of his faith,” he did not, (in imitation of a few weaklings,) through a morbid revulsion, rail against the sober perusal of the primitive fathers, as a study which was utterly useless ; neither did he try to repudiate the high claims which they will always have on the respectful attention of mankind, for their good and pious treatises, (most extraordinary when we consider the ages in which they severally flourished !) as subsidiary yet very important aids in our attempts to understand sundry usages of the earliest associations of Christians, and in tracing the general (though occasionally-varying) current of theological opinions and feelings, and their beneficial effects on human and immortal beings, whether contemplated in their social relations on earth, or in reference to their spiritual condition as candidates for an eternity of blessedness.—EDIT.

The postscript to this letter shall be set down in the Remarks, with some observations upon the letter. (xv.)

REMARKS.

X.—PAGE 44.

A Jesuit who went by the name of Edward Knott— His true name was Matthias * Wilson. He was “born at Pegsworth, near Morpeth, in Northumberland; and was for several years Professor of Divinity at the English College in Rome, then Vice-Provincial, and, lastly, Provincial, of all English Jesuits.” † He “died at London, January 4th, 1655, according to the English account, and was buried the next day in the St. Pancras church, near that city.” ‡

In the *Bibliotheca Patrum Societatis Jesu*, we find this account of him :—§

EDVARDUS KNOTTUS, *vero nomine* MATTHIAS WILSONUS, *natione* Anglus, *patriâ* Northumber. *Vir eximie doctrinæ, et aptissimæ ad gubernandum mansuetudinis. Diu Romæ in Collegio Anglorum juventutem illam educavit; deinde Anglicanæ provinciæ nostræ extra Angliam egit viceprovincialem, postea totius provinciæ bis præpositum. In comitiis generalibus Societatis Romæ anno 1646, quibus ut provincialis interfuit, electus fuit in unum ex definitioribus; vir magnis animi dotibus humili in corpore præditus. Ingressus fuerat in Societatem post absoluta studia theologica Romæ, anno salutis 1606, ætatis 26; et jam sacerdotio initiatus; et primos fervores tironum ad senectutem usque retinuit. Reli-*

* Not Matthew, as MR. SMITH, *ubi infra*, and MR. WOOD, *Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. ii. col. 45, do affirm.

† MR. THOMAS SMITH, in his preface before Mr. Daillé's “Apology for the Reformed Churches,” &c., p. 14. See Remark XXXVII.

‡ WOOD, *ubi supra*. § *Ibid.*, p. 185.

*giosse discipline vel in minimis custos in se ipso accuratus, et in aliis quibus præerat exactor sedulus. Demum annis gravis, et maturus cælo, Londini, dum provinciam secundò administraret, migravit ad præmia laborum, die 14 Januarii, 1656. Scripsit Anglicè librum insignem adversus doctorem hæreticum Potterum, &c.**

The catalogue of Mr. Knott's books which follows here, I refer to another place.†

XL—PAGE 45.

Which gave him frequent occasions to resort to his friend the lord Falkland, &c.—"When Mr. Chillingworth," says bishop Barlow, in a letter to sir Peter Pett, "under-

* "EDWARD KNOTT, an Englishman, born in Northumberland, (his real name being MATTHIAS WILSON,) was a man celebrated for his profound learning, and for a mildness of disposition well-suited for conveying instruction. Having been long employed at Rome, in the English College, in the education of his youthful countrymen, he was afterwards sent, as Vice-provincial of his order, to that portion of the British Isles which is not included in our regular English province; and subsequently he twice received the appointment of Provincial over the entire province. At the General Congregation of the order, held at Rome in 1646, which he attended as a Provincial, he was chosen to be one of the Definitors. He was remarkable for being a man whose little body contained a large soul, the repository of vast endowments. He completed his theological studies at Rome, A. D. 1606, and was ordained Deacon, being then twenty-six years of age. He immediately became a member of the Society of Jesus; and, to the very close of life, retained that pious fervour for which he had been distinguished in early youth. In his own person he was a most exact observer, even in matters the most minute, of the religious discipline of his order; and was strict in requiring similar exactness from all those over whom he presided. At length, while he was, in London, a second time engaged in administering the affairs of the Society as its Provincial, full of years and ripe for heaven, he departed this life, on the fourteenth day of January, 1656, to enjoy the rewards of his godly labours. He wrote a famous book in the English language against Dr. Potter the heretic."—EDIT.

† See Remark xxxv.

took the defence of Dr. Potter's book against the Jesuit, he was almost continually at Tew, with my lord [Falkland], examining the reasons of both parties, *pro* and *con*, and their invalidity or consequence ; where Mr. Chillingworth had the benefit of my lord's company and his good library. The benefit he had by my lord's company and rational discourse was very great, as Mr. Chillingworth would modestly and truly confess. But [still greater was the benefit of] his library, which was well furnished with choice books, (I have several times been in it, and seen them,) such as Mr. Chillingworth neither had, nor ever heard of many of them, till my lord showed him the books and the passages in them, which were significant and pertinent to the purpose. So that it is certain that most of those ancient authorities which Mr. Chillingworth makes use of, he owes, first, to my lord of Falkland's learning, that he could give him so good directions ; and, next, to his civility and kindness, that he would direct him." *

In another letter to one of his friends, who had writ to him for his judgment, "Wherein Mr. Chillingworth's peculiar excellency above other writers consisted," † the bishop returns the following answer :—

"You desire to know," says he, "wherein Mr. Chillingworth's excellency above other writers did consist. So that you seem to take for granted, that he has an excellency, if not above all, yet above many or most, writers ; and I think so too.

"But then the case must be cautiously stated ; for his excellency we speak of cannot consist in any extraordinary knowledge he had of antiquity, sacred or civil, of councils and fathers, or learned men's animadversions upon them ; nor in any great skill he had in several tongues and languages, &c.

"But his excellency wherein he excelled many, if not

* "The genuine Remains of Dr. Thomas Barlow, late Bishop of Lincoln," &c., p. 329.

† *Ibid.*, p. 344.

most, writers, did arise from, and consist in, his logic, both natural and (by exceeding great industry) acquired.....

“But that logic in which Mr. Chillingworth’s excellency did principally consist, was his acquired logic. He industriously studied it, finding the exceeding use of it, especially in controversies of religion. Logic, and that only, makes a man to write so that his arguments shall be, 1. Consequent ; 2. Evident : for that, and that only, enables a writer really to know whether the premisses do indeed infer the conclusion ; or otherwise are false, or fallacious, and sophistical, and not truly logical and concluding arguments : and for this, Mr. Chillingworth (after an industrious and diligent reading Aristotle’s and Crakanthorp’s Logic, who were best able to instruct him) was of greater ability to judge truly than most, if not all, the writers I have yet met with.

“Besides, Mr. Chillingworth, in all his disputes against popery, draws his arguments, not from fathers or councils, (though in several things they may be of good use, though they be not infallible,) but from the sacred scriptures ; which, being of divine authority, and infallible, are a sure and just ground of that confidence we are speaking of.” *

I beg leave to make some observations on the foregoing passages.

Bishop Barlow, being asked, “Wherein Mr. Chillingworth’s excellency above other writers did consist,” says, “It cannot consist in any extraordinary knowledge he had of antiquity, sacred or civil, of councils and fathers, or learned men’s animadversions upon them ; nor in any great skill he had in several tongues and languages,” &c.

I will not pretend to say, that he exceeded other writers in these particulars, especially when he began to write his book, he being then but thirty-three years old ; and my lord Falkland did probably furnish him with some mate-

* *Ibid.*, p. 347.

rials. But yet, we have reason to believe, both from that book, and from other private writings of his, that he was well versed in sacred and civil antiquity, and understood several tongues or languages. Certainly, his affirming that he did "see plainly, and with his own eyes, that there are councils against councils; some fathers against others; the same fathers against themselves; a consent of fathers of one age, against a consent of fathers of another age; the church of one age, against the church of another age;" * is a sufficient proof that he had a very great knowledge of sacred antiquity; and far greater than several eminent men have had, who have made it the constant subject of their study and application; for, his clear head, sound judgment, and free, impartial inquiry after truth, made him see what these learned men could not perceive. And the reason is, because they only read those ancients, either with a view to stock and enrich their memory, or in order to find out authorities to confirm their own opinions and prejudices. Whatever the fathers say, is sacred to them, and received with a sort of religious respect and reverence. But Mr. Chillingworth proceeded in a different way. He read them carefully, and digested them well; but then he considered them as fallible men; and, having no regard to names or persons, he made a true judgment of them, which enabled him to assert the cause of protestants more effectually than had been done before.†

I conclude with the following judicious observation of Dr. Hare: "Mr. Chillingworth," says he, "is certainly a good reasoner, and may be read with much advantage; but I fear, the reading of him by young divines hath had one great inconvenience: They see little show of reading in him, and from thence are induced to think there is no necessity of learning to make a good divine; nay, that if he had been more a scholar, he had been a worse reasoner;

* Chap. vi. sect. 56.

† See Note, pp. 52—59.

and therefore, not to study the ancient writers of the church, is one step to the being Chillingworths themselves;—I fear, I say, the reading Mr. Chillingworth in their first years has had this influence, to make them think that good parts and good sense would do without learning, and that learning is rather a prejudice than an improvement of them. But it is a great mistake to judge of a man's learning by the show that is made of it: Mr. Chillingworth had studied hard, and digested well what he read; and so must they who hope to write as well, and be as much esteemed." *

XII.—PAGE 46.

Octoginta episcopi olim respuerunt τὸ homousion—The whole passage stands thus: *Octoginta episcopi olim respuerunt [τὸ homousion]; sed trecenti decem et octo nuper receperunt. Et mihi quidem ipse ille hic numerus sanctus est: in quo Abraham, victor regum impiorum, ab eo qui æterni sacerdotii est forma, benedicitur.*†—D. HILARIUS, *Pictavorum Episcopus*, &c. *Basileæ*, 1550, p. 334; *et edit. Paris*. 1605, col. 359, 360.

* "Scripture vindicated," &c.; preface, p. xxxii. † "Eighty bishops formerly rejected (τὸ ὁμοούσιον) the co-essentiality [of the three Divine Persons in the Trinity]; but three hundred and eighteen of the episcopal order have lately embraced this doctrine. And I consider this identical number as one that is sacred: for when Abraham returned victorious from the slaughter of the four impious kings, this is the very number in which he was himself blessed by him [Melchizedek] who is the type of the eternal priesthood [of Christ]."

This is one of those innumerable instances of allegorizing which occur in the pages of the fathers; and which have served to diminish the veneration which would otherwise be felt for the piety and simplicity which breathe in their writings. The passage of scripture which St. Hilary produces for this exercise of his fancy is Gen. xiv. 14: "And when Abram heard that his brother [Lot] was taken captive, he armed his trained servants, born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued them unto Dan."—EDIT.

XIII.—PAGE 52.

*That the Father and the Son are aliud et aliud—I will give the reader the very words of cardinal Du Perron : Et pource qui demandera à un Arien, ou à un Eutychien, s' il veut se sousmettre au jugement de l'eglise des siecles precedents celui de Constantin ou de Marcian, il n'en fera aucune difficulté, ains pressera luy-mesme que la controverse se decide par ce peu qui nous reste d' auteurs de ce temps-là. Car l' Arien trouvera dans saint Irenée, Tertullian, et autres qui nous sont restez en petit nombre de ces siecles-là, que le Fils est l' instrument du Pere ; que le Pere a commandé au Fils lors qu' il a esté question de la creation des choses ; que le Pere et le Fils sont aliud et aliud : choses, que qui tiendroît aujourd' huy que le langage de l'eglise est plus examiné, seroit estimé pour Arien luy-mesme.**

XIV.—PAGE 53.

Fisher, in his answer to Dr. White's "Nine Questions," has a place almost parallel to that above-cited out of Perron—Fisher's words are these : "If, against every tradition of the church, difficile and obscure passages may be brought out of fathers, and this doth suffice to make the same questionable, then no tradition can be certainly known without exact reading and examining of the fathers. But no tradition or doctrine is so constantly and clearly delivered by the fathers, but divers obscure and difficile places out of their works may be brought against them, with such a show, that common people shall not know what to say. For, what tradition more constantly delivered by the Christian doctors than our Saviour's consubstantiality with his Father according to his divine nature? And yet the new Reformed Arians, as you may see in BELLARMIN. De

* *Réplique à la Réponse du serenissime Roy de la Grande Bretagne, &c., livre II. chap. v. p. m. 729.*

Christo, lib. ii., cap. 10, bring very many testimonies of ancient fathers to prove, that in this point they did contradict themselves, and were contrary one to another; which places whosoever shall read, will clearly see, that to common people they are unanswerable; yea, that common people are not capable of the answers that learned men yield unto such obscure passages. What, then, shall they do? They must answer, that antiquity did never acknowledge such dissension amongst the fathers in the point of our Saviour's consubstantiality; which they would not have omitted to do, had there been any such real dissension, seeing they noted the fathers' opposition in lesser matters." *

XV.—PAGE 60.

The postscript to this letter shall be set down in the Remarks, with some observations upon the letter—That postscript is as follows:—

"See FACUNDUS HERMIANENSIS, lib. x. cap. 15.

"Remember always the words of our Saviour: 'If you will do the will of my Father, you shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God.' (John vii. 17.)

"If you can, send me Mr. Diggs's † speech.

"I prythee go to Dr. Littleton, and desire him to send me all that he has of Vorstius. For, in the epistles of his which I borrowed of him, he refers me to some other books of his which I shall have especial occasion to use; especially his book against Pistorius the Jesuit." ‡

Now, to come to the letter itself: I have already

* "The Answer unto the nine Points of Controversy, proposed by our late Sovereign," &c., pp. 106, 107. † Perhaps Mr.

Dudley Diggs, author of "The Unlawfulness of Subjects' taking up Arms against their Sovereign, in what Case soever," &c. Printed in the year 1644, (and not in 1643, as Mr. Wood hath it,) in 4to. See *Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. ii. col. 16. ‡ *Tessaradecas Anti-*

Pistoriana. Hanov., anno 1607. 8vo.

observed that Mr. Chillingworth "writ it to one of his friends, who, it seems, had desired to know what judgment might be made of Arianism from the sense of antiquity." Mr. Chillingworth tells him who they were that asserted the opinion of Arius, and with what advantage they did combat their adversaries. From whence he concludes, that "whosoever shall freely and impartially consider of this thing.....he shall not choose but confess, or at least be very inclinable to believe, that the doctrine of Arius is either a truth, or at least no damnable heresy." Whereby it appears that, in Mr. Chillingworth's judgment, if this controversy was to be decided by the authority of the ancient fathers, Arianism would carry the day. But as he rejected all human authority in matters of faith, nobody, I think, hath a right to conclude from thence that he was an Arian.* However, it is certain that he did not exclude Arians from salvation; wherein he agreed with several eminent divines of the church of England; such as the judicious Mr. Hooker; Dr. Morton, bishop of Durham; Mr. Hales, &c. "It seemeth," says Dr. Potter, in his answer to Mr. Knott, "to some men of greater learning and judgment,† (but herein I had rather leave the reader to his judgment, than interpose mine own,) that all who profess to love and honour Jesus Christ (though it be in much weakness and with many errors, yet) are in the visible Christian church, and by catholics to be reputed brethren. Or to the same purpose: Wheresoever, say they, a company of men do jointly and publicly profess the substance of Christian religion, which is, 'faith in Jesus Christ, the Son of God and Saviour of the world, with submission to his doctrine in mind and will,' there is a church wherein salvation may be had, notwithstanding any corruption of judgment or practice; yea, although it be of that nature

* See Remark xl.

† MR. HOOKER, lib. iii. sect. 1; THOMAS MORTON, Of the Church, cap. i. sect. 4; and cap. vii. sect. 10.

that it may seem to fight with the very foundation, and so heinous as that, in respect thereof, the people stained with this corruption are worthy to be abhorred of all men, and unworthy to be called the church of God." *

Dr. Potter adds several illustrations and proofs that are brought in by those learned men, to assert the said position; namely, "That to 'believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God and Saviour of the world, with submission to his doctrine in mind and will,' is sufficient to constitute a church, wherein salvation may be had;" and cites these words of Salvian, bishop of Marseilles, who, speaking of the Arian Goths and Vandals, says: *Eis traditio magistrorum suorum, et doctrina inveterata, quasi lex est; quia hoc sciunt tantummodò quod docentur. Hæretici ergò sunt, sed non scientes. Denique apud nos sunt hæretici, apud se non sunt. Nam in tantum se catholicos esse judicant ut nos ipsos titulo hæreticæ appellationis infament. Quod ergò illi nobis sunt, hoc nos illis. Nos eos injuriam divinæ generationi facere certi sumus, quod minorem Patre Filium dicant. Illi nos injuriosos Patri existimant, quia æquales esse credamus. Veritas apud nos est; sed illi apud se esse præsumunt. Honor Dei apud nos est; sed illi hoc arbitrantur honorem divinitatis esse quod credunt. Inofficiosi sunt; sed illis hoc est summum religionis officium. Impii sunt; sed hoc putant veram esse pietatem. Errant ergò; sed bono animo errant, non odio, sed affectu Dei, honorare se Dominum atque amare credentes. Quamvis non habeant rectam fidem, illi tamen hoc perfectam Dei æstimant caritatem. Qualiter pro hoc ipso falsæ opinionis errore in die judicii puniendi sint, nullus potest scire nisi Juxta.*† Which Dr. Potter Englishes thus: "The tradition of their teachers,

* "Want of Charity justly charged on all such Romanists as dare, without Truth or Modesty, affirm, that Protestancy destroyeth Salvation," &c. Second edition. London, 1634, pp. 113, 114.

† *Salvianus de Gubernatione Dei: ex recensione Stephani Balusii, lib. v. p. 100, edit. secundæ. Paris, 1669.*

and the doctrine which they have learned, is to them as it were a law ; they believe as they have been instructed. They are heretics, then, but not wittingly. Briefly, they are heretics in our judgment, but not in their own. For they esteem themselves so good catholics, that they defame us with the title of heresy. Such, therefore, as they are to us, such are we to them. We know assuredly that they are injurious to the divine generation of the Son of God, because they say he is inferior to his Father : they contrarily think us injurious to the Father, because we believe the Son to be equal to him. The truth is on our side ; but they presume it is on theirs. Our opinion truly honours God ; but they suppose their opinion to be more honourable to him. They are, indeed, undutiful to God ; but this they esteem a great duty of religion. They are impious ; but this they think to be true piety. They err, then ; but they err with a good mind ; not out of any hatred to God, but with affection to him, thinking to honour hereby and love the Lord. Although they have not the right faith, yet they imagine their opinion to be perfect charity towards God. How they shall be punished in the last day of judgment for this error of their false opinion, the Judge alone knows." *

And the ever-memorable Mr. Hales observes, that " Arianism is but a name of schism ; howsoever, in the common language of the fathers, it is called heresy. For heresy," says he, " is an act of the will, not of reason ; and is indeed a lie, not a mistake." And he adds, that he doth not " see why *we* might not go, if occasion require, to an Arian church, so there be no Arianism expressed in their liturgy." †

I shall, perhaps, not deviate from the subject of this remark, if I bring in here a passage out of Mr. Chillingworth's preface to his book against Mr. Knott, entitled,

* *Ubi supra*, pp. 119, 120.
Hales," p. 13.

† See " The Life of Mr.

"The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation," &c. That Jesuit having charged the protestants with leading men to Socinianism, he observes, that he could easily retort that imputation upon the papists, and show that "the doctors of their church do the principal and proper work of the Socinians for them, undermining the doctrine of the Trinity, by denying it to be supported either by the scripture, or by the consent of the ancient doctors.

"For scripture," says he, "your men deny very plainly and frequently, that this doctrine can be proved by it. See, if you please, this plainly taught, and urged very earnestly, by CARDINAL HOSIUS, *De Author. Sac. Scrip.*, lib. iii., page 53; by GORDONIUS HUNTLEUS, *Controversiarum*, tom. i., contr. 1, *De verbo Dei*, c. 19; by GRETSEUS and TANNERUS in *Colloquio Ratisbon.*; and also by Vega, Possevin, Wiekus, and others.*

"And then," pursues he, "for the consent of the ancients, that that also delivers it not, by whom are we taught but by papists only? Who is it that makes known to all the world that Eusebius, that great searcher and devourer of the Christian libraries, was an Arian? Is it not your great Achilles, cardinal Perron, in his 'Reply to King James,' book iii., chap. 2? Who is it that informs us that Origen, who never was questioned for any error in this matter, in or near his time, 'denied the divinity of the Son and the Holy Ghost?' Is it not the same great cardinal, in his book 'Of the Eucharist,' against M. du Plessis, lib. ii., cap. 7? Who is it that pretends that 'Irenæus hath said those things, which he that should now hold would be esteemed an Arian?' Is it not the same Perron, in his 'Reply to King James,' in chap. 5 of his fourth observation? And does he not, in the same place, peach Tertullian also, and, in a manner, give him away to the Arians? and pronounce generally of the fathers before the

* "Preface to the Author of 'Charity Maintained,' &c.," sect. 17, 18.

council of Nice, that 'the Arians would gladly be tried by them?' And are not your fellow-Jesuits also, even the prime men of your order, prevaricators in this point, as well as others? Doth not your friend Mr. Fisher, or Mr. Floyd, in his book of the 'Nine Questions' proposed to him by king James, speak dangerously to the same purpose, in his discourse 'Of the Resolution of Faith,' towards the end? giving us to understand, 'that the new Reformed Arians bring very many testimonies of the ancient fathers to prove that in this point they did contradict themselves, and were contrary one to another; which places whosoever shall read, will clearly see, that to common people they are unanswerable; yea, that common people are not capable of the answers that learned men yield unto such obscure passages.'* And hath not your great antiquary, Petavius, in his Notes upon EPIPHANIUS, in *Hær.* 69, been very liberal to the adversaries of the doctrine of the Trinity, and, in a manner, given them for patrons and advocates, first, Justin Martyr, and then almost all the fathers before the council of Nice, whose speeches, he says, touching this point, *cum orthodoxæ fidei regulâ minimè consentiunt?*"†

[In this excellent note Des Maizeaux has not attempted to fix the date of the letter, though his extracts furnish ample materials for that purpose. Sir Dudley Digges, whose name is mentioned by Chillingworth in the preceding postscript, page 67, delivered a famous speech at the grand conference between the Lords and Commons, on the 3d (14th) of April, 1628. The hasty and imperfect copies of that speech obtained a very extensive circulation, and were perused with avidity by every lover of constitutional liberty; and no Englishman would be more eager to

* See Remark XIV. p. 66.

† "Whose speeches do not agree with the rule of orthodox faith." See the large extracts from Petau's notes, which are given in pages 47—49.—EDIT.

obtain a sight of it than the youthful Chillingworth, who was on happy terms of intimacy with the author's accomplished son.* This circumstance, and others which connect themselves with the names of his personal friends, (of whom he writes as either then resident in the University, or as having recently been there,) have furnished me with data for showing in the Appendix, Remark *lx.*, the letter to have been written a few years prior to 1638. Its contents afford strong proof, that, after the proselyting process had commenced at Oxford, under the skilful management of the Jesuit Fisher, (*alias* Percey,) Chillingworth's mind had been well stored with papistical lore, and that he had become rapidly acquainted with all the principal secrets of the Romish prison-house. During his brief sojourn in Douay, his enlightened spirit had begun to evince an abhorrence of the trammels of Popery ; and, on a comparison between the theological portion of the letter, and that clever passage which is adduced in pages 71 and 72 from the "Religion of Protestants," &c., it will be rendered still more manifest that this deeply-rooted disgust had exhi-

* From the manner in which Des Maizeaux (in the note, page 67) mentions the treatise on "the Unlawfulness of Subjects' taking up Arms against their Sovereign," &c., he seems to have confounded Sir Dudley Digges with his third son, Mr. Dudley Digges ; the latter of whom was the real author of that book : his name occurs in the second paragraph of Chillingworth's Will ; and he died in October, 1643, only a short time before the decease of his invaluable friend. He was a young gentleman of great promise ; and, in conjunction with Chillingworth and some of the first wits of Oxford, wrote smart replies to various parliamentary pamphlets and manifestoes. In Lloyd's "State-Worthies" he is thus described :—"This knight had a younger son, of a most excellent wit and a great judgment, Fellow of All Souls in Oxford ; who, in the beginning of the Civil Wars, wrote so subtle and solid a treatise of the difference between king and parliament, that such royalists as have since handled that controversy, have written *plura non plus*, yea, *aliter* rather than *alia*, of that subject. The son writes down the rebellions that the father countenanced."

bited no marks of decrease. Indeed, the best commentary on the letter is to be found in that passage of the more mature production of 1638, in which he turns the artillery of the former to the discomfiture of his popish adversary ; producing, in the form of an *argumentum ad hominem*, the very same literary champions of the Romish cause as those whom he had, with some parade of style and manner, previously enumerated, to refute the silly and malicious allegation of *the necessary and inherent tendency of protestantism to merge into Socinianism*. In that passage, as well as in the letter, he proves, by direct quotation, that, though some of the most eminent doctors of the church of Rome were commonly considered to be warm admirers of the writings of the Christian fathers, as constituting the best links in their long but attenuated chain of reputed apostolical tradition, (which is sometimes represented by them to be *subsidiary*, and at other times *paramount*, to the simple and intelligible verities of revealed truth,) yet these were the identical authors who had led him astray, and had endeavoured to instil into his mind doubts concerning “the doctrine of the Trinity, by denying it to be supported either by the scripture, or by the consent of the ancient doctors !” In retorting an argument of this description, the blows of Chillingworth were always tremendous : in this instance they not only took effect on such men as Hosius, Perron, Petau, and Fisher, but in their rebound they also slightly grazed the ancient fathers themselves ; who, according to the acknowledgment of these their professed admirers and apologists, are not the safest guides for those who enjoy the advantages that accrue from a constant and prayerful perusal of the word of God, which is “a lamp unto our feet, and a light unto our path,”—a light which the Romanists try to extinguish, or to “put under a bushel.”

But while a comparison of these collateral passages assists satisfactorily to determine the question respecting the date

of the letter, it performs a still higher service, in proving, to every unprejudiced reader, how firmly, during the intervening years of diligent research and deep exercise of spirit, Chillingworth had become established in the truth of that distinguishing doctrine of Christianity,—the divinity and atonement of the Lord Jesus. A paramount love of truth, and an unbounded ardour in its pursuit, were not more striking characteristics of his truly great mind, than was that child-like humility with which, under the teaching of the Holy Spirit, he “received WITH MEEKNESS the engrafted word which was able to save his soul;” and one explicit scriptural declaration, “Thus saith the Lord,” was to him far more authoritative, than the most plausible *dicta* or laboured inferences of the earliest and purest of the ancient fathers. This establishment in divine truth, and teachableness of mind, will be apparent to every one who attentively peruses his latest productions.

Without stopping to ascertain the date of the letter, Des Maizeaux argues very properly, in the preceding note, (page 68,) that “nobody has a right to conclude from” it “that he was an Arian.” In subsequent parts of this “Account” he has, with much justness and success, vindicated his author from the charge of Socinian heterodoxy; a condition of mind in which no man was ever left who remembered the words of our Saviour, recorded in John vii. 17, and carefully pursued the course there prescribed. This is the very practice which, from a knowledge of its beneficial tendency, Chillingworth recommends to his friend, in the preceding postscript, (page 67,) for perpetual adoption;—a recommendation rarely given to their disciples by the propagators of any grand error in theology, because the requisite preliminary involved is a humble and teachable state of the heart, which heresiarchs generally depreciate as “degrading and pusillanimous.”]

VI. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. WHAT IS MEANT BY SUBSCRIPTION TO THEM.

MR. CHILLINGWORTH'S integrity and uprightness were equal to his learning and freedom. Being perfectly sincere in the opinions he professed, no human consideration was capable to make him either prevaricate or act in opposition to them. He gave, in the year 1635, a very convincing proof of it. Some of his friends recommended him to sir Thomas Coventry, lord-keeper of the great seal, for some preferment; and his lordship, who knew his merit, and was then a benefactor to him, expressed a great readiness to oblige him in that particular. Mr. Chillingworth's circumstances were such as made the lord-keeper's resolution most acceptable to him. But he could not be instituted or collated to a benefice, without having first subscribed to the Articles. And that the reader may better understand what is meant by "subscribing to the Articles," it will not be improper to observe, that, in the reign of king Edward VI., some articles of religion were drawn up, and published with this title: "Articles agreed upon by the Bishops, and other learned and godly Men, in the last Convocation at London, in the Year of our Lord 1552, to root out the Discord of Opinions, and establish the Agreement of true Religion. Published by the King's Majesty's Authority." * And, by an order of Council, the

* "A Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Canons," &c. By Anthony Sparrow. London, 1661, p. 37.

bishops and clergy were required to subscribe them.* But, very soon after, not only whatever related to the security of the protestant religion, but even protestantism itself, seemed at an end by the death of that excellent prince, July 6th, 1553, and the accession of queen Mary to the crown.

The Reformation being re-established by queen Elizabeth, the Articles of religion, set forth by her brother, were revised and altered in several places in 1562, by the clergy in Convocation. They were afterwards presented to the queen, and submitted to her censure; and Her Majesty, having carefully examined them, gave them her royal assent. They were printed under this title: "Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the Convocation holden at London, in the Year of our Lord, 1562, for the avoiding of Diversities of Opinions, and for the stablishing of Consent touching true Religion. Put forth by the Queen's Authority." †

In the year 1566, a Bill was brought into the House of Commons for the ratification of these Articles. The Commons passed the Bill, to which was joined the English printed Book of Articles; but it had only one reading in the House of Lords; being stopped there by order of the queen, "persuaded unto it, as it should seem, by some sinister counsel." ‡

Another Bill, to the same purpose, was brought

* See DR. BENNET'S "Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles," &c., p. 371. † *Idem*, p. 13. ‡ SIR SIMON D'EWES, "Journal of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth," &c., pp. 184, 185.

into Parliament in 1571; and, having passed both Houses, received the royal assent.* By this Act,† it is required, that “every person under the degree of a bishop, which doth or shall pretend to be a priest or minister of God’s holy word and sacraments.....shall, in the presence of the bishop or guardian of the spiritualities of some one diocess, where he hath or shall have ecclesiastical living, declare his assent and subscribe to all the Articles of religion (xvi.) which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, comprised in a book imprinted, entituled, ‘Articles, whereupon it was agreed, by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy, in the Convocation holden at London, in the year of our Lord God 1562, according to the computation of the church of England, for the avoiding of the diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion, put forth by the queen’s authority;’ and shall bring from such bishop or guardian of spiritualities, in writing, under his seal authentic, a testimonial of such assent and subscription, and openly, on some Sunday, in the time of some public service, after noon, in every church where, by reason of any ecclesiastical living, he ought to attend, read both the said testimonial, and the said Articles, upon pain that every such person which shall not..... do as is above appointed, shall be (*ipso facto*)

* See Remark xvi. at the end of this section, p. 81.

† “An Act for the Ministers of the Church to be of sound Religion,” 13 Elizabeth, c. 12.

deprived, and all his ecclesiastical promotions shall be void, as if he then were naturally dead."

The subscription to the Articles being thus become a law, it was required with severity ; which occasioned several persons to separate from the church, and to set up nonconformity or presbyterianism. (XVII.)

But in order to give a full account of what is meant by "subscribing to the Articles," I must further observe, that, soon after the passing of that Act of Parliament, Dr. Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, reduced the subscription to a form ; which, with some alterations, was afterwards inserted into the "Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, treated upon by the Bishop of London,* President of the Convocation for the Province of Canterbury, and the rest of the Bishops and Clergy of the said Province ; and agreed upon with the King's Majesty's Licence, in their Synod begun at London, A.D. 1603 :..... and now published [in the year 1604] for the due observation of them, by His Majesty's Authority, under the Great Seal of England."

The thirty-sixth of those canons hath these words :—

"No person shall hereafter be received into the ministry, nor either by institution or collation admitted to any ecclesiastical living, nor suffered to preach, to catechize, or to be a lecturer, or reader of divinity in either Universities.....except he shall first subscribe to these three Articles following, in such manner and sort as we have here appointed :—

* Dr. Richard Bancroft.

"1. That the king's Majesty, under God, is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other His Highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, have or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within His Majesty's said realms, dominions, and countries.

"2. That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering of bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God; and that it may lawfully be used, and that he himself will use the form in the said book prescribed in public prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and none other.

"3. That he alloweth the book of Articles of religion agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy in the Convocation holden at London, in the year of our Lord God, 1562; and that he acknowledgeth all and every the Articles therein contained,* being in number nine-and-thirty, besides the ratification, to be agreeable to the word of God.

"To these three Articles, whosoever will subscribe, he shall, for the avoiding of all ambiguities, subscribe in this order and form of words, setting down both his Christian and surname; namely, I, N. N., do willingly, and *ex animo*, subscribe to these three Articles above-mentioned, and to all things that are contained in them." †

* See Remark xvi.
ecclesiastical," &c., according to the edition printed in London, in 1633, in 4to.

† "Constitutions and Canons

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XVI.—PAGE 78.

Declare his assent, and subscribe, to all the Articles of religion, which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the sacraments, comprised in a book imprinted, entitled, "Articles," &c.—These words, "which only concern," &c., are a limitation to the subscription, and show that the Parliament did not require the ministers of the church of England to "declare their assent and subscribe to all the Articles of religion comprised in the book imprinted," containing the Articles, but only to those Articles which "concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments." For, if an assent and subscription to all the Articles comprised in that book, without any exception, was intended, it must be owned, either that these words of the Act, "which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments," are needless and superfluous; or else, that the Parliament was of opinion, that "all the Articles" did "concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments," though several of them are neither articles of faith, nor relate to the "doctrine of the sacraments;" as, for instance, the Articles for the Homilies, for Church Government, &c.

And, to set this matter in a clearer light, I must observe; that there was at that time a division in the church of England, both among the clergy and laity, about matters of discipline and ceremonies. The puritans, that is, such as were for a farther reformation, desired that some practices that had been retained upon political considerations, in order to bring the papists into the church, might be abolished;* and these had the majority in Parliament.

* See SIR SIMON D'EWES'S "Journal of all the Parliaments during the reign of Queen Elizabeth," &c., pp. 157, 166, 184, 185.

Therefore, when the Bill to ratify the Articles was brought before them, they did, in regard to those clergymen who were of the same opinion with themselves, limit the subscription to the Articles which "concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments," and left a latitude in what relates to discipline and ceremonies, as matters indifferent in themselves.

But the restriction is not in the word "only," as Mr. Collier and others imagine.* It would still subsist, though that word were left out. To say, that every minister "shall declare his assent and subscribe to all the Articles of religion which.....concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, comprised in a book imprinted, entitled, 'Articles,' " &c., evidently limits and determines the assent and subscription to such Articles in that book as concern the two heads mentioned, and dispenses with assenting and subscribing to the other Articles in the same book. The word "only" was added to enforce the limitation, and put it out of all manner of doubt or exception. But, at the same time, that word, with the word "all" just before it, have thrown a sort of uncouthness into that sentence, (such as may be seen in other Acts of Parliament where clauses are added,) which hath furnished Dr. Bennet with an objection against the limitation. For, he thinks that "the natural and obvious sense of the Act does directly oppose this notion" of a limitation; and uses several arguments to prove it; † but he hath been fully answered by the author of the "Historical and critical Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles." ‡

That the word "only" was added by the Lords, to enforce the restriction, may be conjectured from the following pas-

* "Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain," &c., vol. ii. p. 530. See also Mr. STRYPE's "Life of Archbishop Whitgift," pp. 394, 395.

† *Ubi supra*, chap. xxxii. p. 402, *et seq.* ‡ Chap. vii. v. 163, *et seq.*

sage of Mr. Beal, clerk of the Council to queen Elizabeth, in an apologetical letter writ to the lord-treasurer Burleigh, in 1592 ; wherein he affirms, "that the statute of the thirteenth [of queen Elizabeth, which ratified the Articles] did require a subscription to the Articles of faith only ; and that he had heard it credibly reported, that it appeared by the records, that the limitation was thought meet to be inserted by the lords in the Higher House, whenas the Bill had passed the Lower House in more general terms." * According to this account, the Bill passed the Lower House with a limitation ; but because it was not deemed by the Lords to be sufficiently limited, they made a further limitation ; which we cannot conceive to have been any thing else besides the addition of the word "only : " and, at the same time, leaving the word "all" still in the Bill, as the Commons sent it up, occasioned the uncouthness before mentioned.

Mr. Beal says, that "he had heard it credibly reported, that it appeared by the records that the limitation" (that is, the enforcing limitation) "was inserted by the Lords ;" and, indeed, it appears by their Journals that they made some amendments to the Bill ; but what these amendments were, is not mentioned. Sir Simon D'Ewes does not take notice of any amendments made by the Lords to that Bill, though he had their Journals before him, and pretends to give us a faithful account of them. His omissions and inaccuracies have put Dr. Bennet to several difficulties, and drawn him, as well as the author of the "Historical and critical Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles," into some mistakes, which it would be too long to set aright here. I will rather choose to give an account of what I have found relating to that Bill in the Journals of the Parliament, and in a manuscript in the Cotton library, entitled, "Remembrances of the Parliament holden at Westminster, in the

* MR. STRYPE'S "Life and Acts of Archbishop Whitgift," book iv. chap. ix. pp. 394, 395.

thirteenth Year of Queen Elizabeth ;" * the same, as I take it, which sir Simon D'Ewes cites under the name of an "Anonymous Journal." And, at the same time that I transcribe the Journals of Parliament, and the aforesaid manuscript, I will also refer to sir Simon D'Ewes, that the reader may see when he is defective, and how far he agrees or disagrees with them. But for all the care I have taken to set this matter in a true light, yet, for want of sufficient records, we are still in the dark as to several material circumstances.

The Parliament of 1571 began on the 2d day of April ; and, on the 6th, Mr. Strickland, "a grave and ancient man of great zeal," † made a speech for a farther reformation in the church, and moved, that a confession of faith might be brought in and approved, as had been done by the professors of the gospel in other nations. "He said that, before this time, [in the year 1566,] an offer thereof was made in Parliament, that it might be approved ; but either the slackness, or somewhat else, of some men in that time was the let thereof, or what else, he said, he would not say." He was seconded by Mr. Norton, "a man wise, bold, and eloquent." Whereupon the House came to a resolution, which is thus expressed in the Journals of the House of Commons :—

"Veneris, 6 Aprilis.

"Upon a motion for uniformity of religion, and the mention of certain Bills drawn for that purpose the last Parliament, and for redress of sundry defections in those matters, a Committee is by the House appointed of these following ; namely, all the privy Council that are of this House, and fifteen more, ‡ among whom are Mr. Norton and Mr. Strickland."

* *Exemplar Rot. Parliam. ab anno 1 Elisabethæ Reg. usque ad annum 28, Titus F. 1.*

† "Remembrances of the Parliament," &c., *ubi supra*, fol. 144 ; and SIR SIMON D'EWES, pp. 156, 157.

‡ See their names in SIR SIMON D'EWES, p. 157.

The next day these Bills were read and referred to Committees, as it appears by the same Journals :—

“Sabath, 7 Aprilis.”

“The Bills concerning religion were read, and the Bill A delivered to the Committees, and the residue read and appointed to remain in the House, and this not to stand for any reading.” *

By the Bill A, is meant the Bill relating to the Articles, entitled, “A Bill for the Ministers of the Church to be of sound Religion;” as it appears by the Journals of the preceding Parliament, in 1566, wherein the first reading of it is described in this manner :—

“Jovis, 5 Decembris.”

“A. 1. The Bill with a little book printed 1562, for the sound Christian religion. A.” †

The Commons resolved, that the first reading of that Bill ought “not to stand for any reading,” because they desired to proceed, in a matter of that consequence, with all possible caution, lest they should offend the queen or the bishops. Accordingly, the same day, they made the following order :—

“Upon a motion by the Committees for matters of religion, it is ordered that Mr. Grimston and Mr. Strickland may move the lords of the clergy to know their pleasure concerning their motions to be to them made in matters of religion.” ‡

On the 10th, the “Bill for the Ministers of the Church to be of sound Religion” was brought into the House of Commons, as it is observed by the author of the manuscript in the Cotton library already mentioned :—

“A Bill to provide for the good service of churches, by fit ministers; and therefore first to be enacted, that no man

* D'EWEES, p. 158.

† *Ibid.*, p. 132.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

should be instituted who should not first subscribe to the Articles agreed upon in the Synod, 1562, and make publication of the same in his parish church, on pain to be deprived *ipso facto*. Whoso shall maintain the contrary, to be deposed *ad libitum episcopi*. No man to be instituted not of the age of twenty-two years. No man to have cure except he can render an account of his belief in Latin, or hath the gift of preaching. All qualifications contrary to this Act to be void. No man to have a benefice of £30 *per annum* except he be a preacher." *

At the same time, the bishops prayed that the Commons might have a Conference with the Lords upon that Bill ; as may be seen in the Journals of the House of Commons :—

“ *Martis, 10 Aprilis.*

“ Touching matters of religion, Mr. Mounson bringeth report that the bishops prayed to have the Lords moved by this House to assign a Committee to confer with this House. And thereupon it is ordered presently that the same Commission do immediately go to the Lords with this message, to know their pleasure for appointing some to confer about the book for doctrine.” †

The Journals of the House of Lords mention this message, and their lordships’ resolution upon it, thus :—

“ This day, request being made by the Lower House to have conference and talk with certain of my Lords, as well spiritual as temporal, such as should be appointed by this House about a certain Bill brought in to them touching matters of religion, there were appointed for the said purpose, by the consent of the whole House, these lords hereafter following : the archbishop of Canterbury ; the marquis of Northampton ; the earls of Oxford, Arundel, Worcester, Sussex, Huntingdon, and Bedford ; the viscounts Hereford and Montagu ; the bishops of London, Hereford,

* “ Remembrances,” &c., fol. 149.

† D’EWEES, p. 160.

Ely, Sarum, St. David's, Rochester, Carlisle, Chichester, and Lincoln; the lords Cobham and Graye Wilton." *

The Lords acquainted the Commons with this resolution, as it appears by the Journals of the House of Commons :—

"Sir Richard Reed † and Mr. Doctor Yale do bring answer to the message; namely, that the Lords have appointed twenty, whereof ten of the clergy, and ten of the temporality, to meet at two of the clock this afternoon in the Star Chamber; and thereupon were added by the House to the former Committee, the Master of the Rolls," &c. ‡

Before they went, there was, it seems, some debate in the House; which is obscurely represented in the Cotton manuscript as follows :—

"A motion made by Mr. Comptroller, to know the pleasure of the House, whether the Committees for the clause of religion should confer with the bishops and lords assigned from the Higher House, or to stand at the direction of the bishops: it was spoken unto by many. But Mr. Norton was of mind it should be called a Suit; nevertheless, to confer, and not to stand at the direction of the bishops further than their consciences should be satisfied. Whereunto Yelverton agreed, persuading that the authority might be continued in that House." §

The farther proceedings of the Commons concerning that Bill are not mentioned in their Journals till the 25th; when some of the members were ordered to attend the archbishop about it :—

"Mercurii, 25 Aprilis.

"Sir Robert Lane; Mr. Henry Knowles, sen.; Mr. Ashley, Master of the Jewel-House; sir Henry Gate; Mr. Sands; Mr. Wentworth, are appointed to attend my lord

* See D'EWES, p. 143.

† *Ibid.*, p. 160.

‡ See

their names in SIR SIMON D'EWES, *ibid.* &c., fol. 149.

§ "Remembrances,"

of Canterbury His Grace, for answer touching matters of religion." *

The purport of that message is explained by Mr. Wentworth, in a speech he made in the Parliament of 1575 ; " I was, among others," says he, " the last Parliament, sent unto the bishop of Canterbury for the Articles of religion that then passed this House : he asked us why we did put out of the book [in consequence, as I conceive, of the aforesaid clause] the Articles for the Homilies, Consecrating of Bishops, and such like. ' Surely, Sir,' said I, ' because we were so occupied in other matters, that we had no time to examine them how they agreed with the word of God.' ' What ! ' said he, ' surely you mistook the matter ; you will refer yourselves wholly to us therein.' ' No, by the faith I bear to God,' said I, ' we will pass nothing before we understand what it is ; for that were but to make you popes. Make you popes who list,' said I, ' for we will make you none.' " †

On the 1st of May, the Lords desired a conference with the Commons about that Bill, as it appears by the Journals of the House of Commons :—

" Mr. Sergeant Barham, and Mr. Attorney General, do desire from the Lords that a convenient number of this House be sent presently unto their Lordships, for answer touching the Articles of religion ; whereupon my Lord Deputy of Ireland, Mr. Treasurer, and divers others, were sent for that purpose.....and afterwards returned answer from the Lords, that the queen's Majesty, having been made privy to the said Articles, liketh very well of them, and mindeth to publish them, and have them executed by the bishops, by direction of Her Highness's regal authority of supremacy of the church of England, and not to have the same dealt in by Parliament." ‡

* D'Ewks, p. 179.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 239, 240.

‡ *Ibid.*,

p. 180. The observation he makes on that passage is nothing to the purpose.

The queen was not willing that the Parliament should meddle with this affair; and she hoped, by that declaration, to put a stop to their proceedings therein. And indeed, at that very time, the Articles were under the consideration of the Convocation, who revised them, and subscribed to them on the 11th of May; and they were forthwith published, both in English and in Latin, with Her Majesty's ratification at the end. However, the Commons went on with the Bill, passed it, and sent it to the Lords on the 3d of May; as it appears by the Journals of the House of Lords, which give us a very distinct account of the several readings of it, as follows:—

“*Die Jovis, 3 Maii.*

“*Hodie introductæ sunt a Domo Communium duæ Billæ.*

.....2. For the ministers of the church to be of sound religion.*

“*Lunæ, 7 Maii.*

“*Hodie, primâ vice lecta est Billa,* for the ministers of the church to be sound in religion.

“*Jovis, 10 Maii.*

“*Hodie secundâ vice lecta est Billa,* for the ministers of the church to be sound in religion; *quæ commissa est comitibus Huntingdon et Bedford, episcopis Hereford et Sarum, et dominis Gray et Wentworth.*

“*Die Lunæ, 21 Maii.*

“*Hodie tertiâ vice lecta est Billa,* for ministers for the church to be sound of religion, *quæ conclusa est* with certain amendments, and sent down to the Lower House.

“*Die Mercurii, 23 Maii.*

“*Hodie introductæ sunt a Domo Communium 10 Billæ.*

.....9. For ministers of the church to be sound in religion.”†

* D'EWES, p. 145.

† *Ibid.*, p. 149.

The Journals of the House of Commons take notice of the Lords' sending the Bill back to the Commons, and of the Commons' sending all the Bills they had passed to the Lords :—

“*Lunce, 21 Maii.*

“Mr. Dr. Lewis and Mr. Dr. Vaughan brought from the Lords three Bills, one for pastors to be of sound religion.” *

“*Mercurii, 23 Maii.*

“All the Bills already passed are sent up to the Lords by Mr. Treasurer and others.” †

On the 29th following, the queen gave her royal assent to forty-one Acts ; amongst which was the “Act for the Ministers of the Church to be of sound Religion.”

XVII.—PAGE 79.

The subscription was required with severity ; which occasioned several persons to separate from the church, and to set up nonconformity or presbyterianism—“Hitherto,” says Dr. Fuller, “the bishops had been more sparing in pressing, and others more daring in denying, subscription ; because the canons made in the Convocation 1563 ‡ were not, for nine years after, confirmed by Act of Parliament. But now (1572) the same being ratified by Parliamentary authority, they began the urging thereof more severely than before, which made many dissenters keep their private meetings in woods, § fields, their friends’ houses, &c.” ||

And, in the next page, “The nonconformists,” says he, “though overpowered for the present in Parliament, yet found such favour therein, that after the dissolution thereof,

* D’Ewes, p. 186.
the Articles of 1562.

† *Ibid.*, p. 187.

‡ He means

§ BISHOP CARTWRIGHT’S “Second Reply,” p. 36.

|| “The Church History,” &c., book ix. sect. iii., *ad an.* 1572, vol. ii. p. 503 (8vo. edit. 1842).

they presumed to erect a presbytery at Wandsworth in Surrey.* Eleven elders were chosen therein ; and their offices and general rules (by them to be observed), agreed upon and described, as appears by a bill endorsed with the hand of Mr. Field, the lecturer (as I take it) of that place, but living in London. Mr. Smith, of Mitcham, and Mr. Crane, of Roehampton, (neighbouring villages,) are mentioned for their approbation of all passages therein. This was the first-born of all presbyteries in England ; and *secundum usum Wandsworth* as much honoured by some, as *secundum usum Sarum* by others." †

* BISHOP BANCROFT'S "English Scottizing," book iii. cap. i.

† "The Church History," &c., book ix. sect. 8, vol. ii. p. 505.

VII. GROUNDS OF CHILLINGWORTH'S SCRUPLES ABOUT SUBSCRIPTION.

Now, Mr. Chillingworth considering that he could enjoy no preferment without subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles, or the thirty-sixth Canon, whereby he must not only declare, "willingly and *ex animo*," that every one of the Articles is "agreeable to the word of God," but also that the "Book of Common Prayer contained nothing contrary to the word of God ;" that "it might lawfully be used ;" and that "he himself would use it ;" and conceiving, at the same time, that both in the Articles, and in the Book of Common Prayer, there were some things repugnant to the scripture, or that were not lawful to be used, he fell into the greatest anxiety of mind imaginable.

One of his chief objections related to the Symbol or Creed which goes under the name of Athanasius. It is now universally acknowledged by the learned, that it was not composed by Athanasius, but by an unknown author, who lived a long time after him; and that it was known and received but very late. (xviii.)* This Symbol is part of the Book of Common Prayer; and in the Thirty-nine Articles it is said, that "Athanasius's Creed (as well as the Nicene Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed) ought thoroughly to be received and believed; for they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy scripture."† Everybody knows that it contains an exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity, and begins with this comminatory declaration: that "whosoever will be saved, before all things, it is necessary that he hold the catholic faith; which faith, except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly," and that "this" exposition "is the catholic faith." It declares again, that "he that will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity:" and, again, says in general of all the Articles it contains, that "this is the catholic faith; which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved." These damnatory clauses were highly disapproved by Mr. Chillingworth. He could not apprehend, and much less affirm, that any body should perish everlastingly, or be damned, for not believing that exposition. He thought that it was a great pre-

* See Remark xviii. at the end of this section, p. 103.

† Article viii.

sumption in any man thus to confine God's mercy ; and that such a declaration tended to create animosities and divisions in the Christian church. In short, he looked upon it as "contrary to the word of God," and therefore could not subscribe that it "may be proved by warrant of holy scripture."

His other objection concerned the fourth commandment, "Remember that thou keep holy the sabbath-day," &c. ; * which, by the answer of the people, or prayer subjoined to it, "Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law," appeared to him to be made a part of the Christian law, and, consequently, to bind Christians to the observation of the Jewish sabbath. And this he found contrary both to the doctrine of the gospel, whereby the Jewish sabbath is abolished, and to the sense of the church of England, concerning that holy day of the Christians which is called Sunday. (xix.)

When he considered that a solemn declaration, —that he believed that to be true and lawful which he judged to be false and unlawful, and that he would submit to such practices as he never intended to follow,—was a solemn prevarication, and forfeiting all pretence to sincerity, honesty, and the favour of God ; he fully resolved to renounce all worldly advantages, and lose for ever all hopes of preferment, rather than comply with the subscription required. The very thought of the uneasiness and disturbance of mind which he should afterwards have felt, if he had subscribed,

* See the whole Commandment in Remark xix.

as he was once going to do, struck him with horror. And when he had determined not to comply with the required subscription, he perceived within himself all the joy and satisfaction of a just, upright man, who acts a part agreeable to the dictates of his conscience, and acceptable to God. This made him triumph in the resolution he had taken, as for a great victory over himself, and the most glorious action he ever was capable of performing. Big with these sentiments, he wrote the following letter "to the right worshipful and his much-honoured friend Dr. Sheldon :"—*

"GOOD DR. SHELDON,

"I do here send you news, as unto my best friend, of a great and happy victory, which at length, with extreme difficulty, I have scarcely obtained over the only enemy that can hurt me, that is, myself.

"Sir, so it is, that though I am in debt to yourself and others of my friends above £20 more than I know how to pay ; though I am in want of many conveniences ; though in great danger of falling into a chronical infirmity of my body ; though in another thing, which you perhaps guess at what it is, but I will not tell you, which would make me more joyful of preferment than all these, if I could come honestly by † it ; though money

* That letter is dated from Tew, September 21st, 1635, I had two transcripts of it in my hands ; one of which, that hath a postscript, was communicated to me by my lord bishop of Peterborough. I have set down in the margin the various readings of the other transcript. See Remark XXI.

† To.

comes to me from my father's purse like blood from his veins, or from his heart ; though I am very sensible that I have been too long already an unprofitable burden to my lord, and must not still continue so ; though my refusing preferment may perhaps (which fear, I assure you, does much afflict me) be injurious to my friends and intimate acquaintance, and prejudicial to them in the way of theirs ; though conscience of my own good intention and desire * suggests unto me many flattering hopes of great possibility † of doing God and his church service, if I had that preferment which I may fairly hope for ; though I may justly fear, that, by refusing those preferments which I sought for, I shall gain the reputation of weakness and levity, and incur their displeasure whose good opinion of me, next to God's favour, and my own good opinion of myself, I do esteem and desire above all things ;—though all these, and many other *terribiles visu formæ*, ‡ have represented themselves to my imagination in the most hideous manner that may be ; yet I am at length firmly and unmovably resolved, if I can have no preferment without subscription, that I neither can nor will have any.

“For this resolution I have but one reason against a thousand temptations to the contrary : but it is ἐν μέγα ;§ against which if all the little reasons in the world were put in the balance, they would be lighter than vanity. In brief, this it is : As long as I keep that modest and humble assur-

* Intentions and desires. † Possibilities. ‡ “Airy shapes, terrific to behold !”—EDIT. § “The greatest and most considerable.”—EDIT.

ance of God's love and favour which I now enjoy, and wherein I hope I shall be daily more and more confirmed; so long, in despite of all the world, I may and shall and will be happy: but if I once lose this, though all the world should conspire to make me happy, I shall and must be extremely miserable. Now, this inestimable jewel, if I subscribe, (without such a declaration as will make* the subscription no subscription,) I shall wittingly, and willingly, and deliberately throw away. For, though I am very well persuaded of you and my other friends, who do so with a full persuasion that you may do it lawfully; yet the case stands so with me, and I can see no remedy but for ever it will do so, that if I subscribe, I subscribe my own damnation. For though I do verily believe the church of England a true member of the church, that she wants nothing necessary to salvation, and holds nothing repugnant to it; and had thought that to think so had sufficiently qualified me for a subscription (xx.); yet now, I plainly see, if I will not juggle with my conscience, and play with God Almighty, I must forbear.

“For, to say nothing of other things, which I have so well considered as not to be in state to sign them, and yet not so well as to declare myself against them, two points there are wherein I am fully resolved, and therefore care not who knows my mind. One is, that to say the fourth commandment is a law of God appertaining to Christians, is false and unlawful; the other, that

* As makes.

the damning sentences in St. Athanasius's Creed (as we are made to subscribe it) are most false, and also, in a high degree, presumptuous and schismatical: and, therefore, I can neither subscribe that these things are agreeable* to the word of God, seeing I believe they are certainly repugnant to it; nor that the whole Common Prayer is lawful to be used, seeing I believe these parts of it certainly unlawful; nor promise that I myself will use it, seeing I never intend either to read these things which I have now† excepted against, or to say Amen to them.

"I shall not need to entreat you not to be offended with me for this my most honest and (as I verily believe) most wise resolution; hoping rather, you will do your endeavour that I may neither be honest at so dear a rate as the loss of preferment, nor buy preferment at so much dearer a rate, the loss of honesty.

"I think myself happy that it pleased God, when I was resolved to venture upon a subscription without full assurance of the lawfulness of it, to cast in my way two unexpected impediments to divert me from accomplishing my resolution. For I profess unto you, since I entertained it, I have never enjoyed quiet day nor night, till now that I have rid myself of it again; and I plainly perceive, that if I had swallowed this pill, howsoever gilded over with glosses and reservations, and wrapped up in conserves of good intentions and purposes, yet it would never have agreed nor stayed with me, but I would have cast it up again, and with it

* To these things as agreeable.

† I now have.

whatsoever preferment I should have gained with it as the wages of unrighteousness; which would have been a great injury to you, and to my Lord-Keeper; whereas now, *res est integra*;* and he will not lose the gift of any preferment by bestowing it on me, nor have any engagement to Mr. Andrews for me.

“But however† this would have succeeded in case I had then subscribed, I thank God, I am now so resolved, that I will never do that while I am living and in health, which I would not do if I were dying; and this I am sure I would not do. I would never do any thing for preferment which I would not do but for preferment; and this, I am sure, I should not do. I will never‡ under-value the happiness which God’s love brings to me with it, as to put it to the least adventure in the world, for the gaining of any worldly happiness. I remember very well, *Quærite primum regnum Dei, et cætera omnia adjicientur tibi*;§ and, therefore, whenever|| I make such a preposterous choice, I will give you leave to think I am out of my wits, or do not believe in God, or at least am so unreasonable as to do a thing in hope I shall be sorry for it afterwards, and wish it undone.

“It cannot be avoided, but my lord of Canterbury must come to know this my resolution; and, I think, the sooner the better. Let me entreat you to acquaint him with it, (if you think it expe-

* “The matter remains just as it was.”—EDRT. † Howsoever. ‡ Never so. § “Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added to you.” (Matt. vi. 33.)—EDRT. || Whensoever.

cient,) and let me hear from you as soon as possibly you can. But when you write, I pray remember, that my foregoing preferment (in this * state wherein I am) is grief enough to me ; and do not you add to it, by being angry with me for doing that which I must do, or be miserable. I am,

“ Your most loving and true servant,” &c.

To this letter Mr. Chillingworth added a postscript, wherein he acquaints his friend, that so much as he had done already of his “ Defence of Dr. Potter,” he intended to review and perfect before he proceeded. But he intimates, at the same time, that he thought it sufficient to answer the first part of Mr. Knott’s book ; and therefore observes, that if it should be thought fit to publish his answer, a discourse might be added to it, showing that, if the first part was well answered, the second was answered also, by the connexion and dependence it had upon the first. The whole postscript shall be transcribed in the Remarks. (xxi.)

I have not, as yet, had the good fortune to meet with Dr. Sheldon’s answer to this letter of Mr. Chillingworth.† But, by a paper containing the heads or hints of another answer of his to our author, it appears that there passed several letters between them on that subject ; some, for greater secrecy, written in a third person. For, Mr. Chillingworth being intent upon a full inquiry into the sense of the Articles, every new examination afforded him new scruples. Thus, he objected,

* Being in this.

† See Remark xxii.

1. To Article XX., importing that "the church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith." 2. To Article XIV., that "voluntary works besides, over, and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety," &c.; which seemed to condemn the doctrine of evangelical counsels, maintained by the fathers, and by several eminent divines of the church of England; as bishop Andrews, bishop Morton, bishop Mountagu, &c.* 3. To Article XXXI., that "the offering of Christ once made, is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and that there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of masses, in which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits;" scrupling, I presume, the generality of the expressions contained in the first part of this Article,† and disliking the word "blasphemous," which is the latter part of it. 4. To Article XIII., that "works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in

* See Remark xxx., p. 117. † In this conjecture Des Maizeaux is completely at fault; for, after an inspection of Dr. Sheldon's notes, (p. 116,) in the paragraph which commences with, "No such offering of Christ in the scriptures," it will be most apparent that his scruple was a remnant of his recent Romish tenets, and had reference to the corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist.—EDRR.

Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or, as the School-authors say, deserve grace of congruity ; yea, rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin ;” which appeared to him to confine God’s grace within too narrow bounds, and to exclude from salvation the most virtuous among the Pagans, &c. 5. Lastly. He objected to the Articles in general, as an imposition on men’s consciences, much like that authority which the church of Rome assumes. At the same time, he complained that the Doctor had used him with too much severity in his last answer.

Dr. Sheldon, as we may judge by the aforesaid paper, excused the severity of his answer, by saying, that “it was in a third person, else he would not have told him what he did.” He added, that he would by no means “persuade any body to act against his conscience ;” but did “not put the title of conscience upon an humour of contradiction ;” and that, “to deal plainly with him, he was afraid it would ruin him here, and not advantage him at the last day.” Now, as to his objections, 1. Against Article XX., he answers, that “if occasion require, the church hath power to establish ceremony or doctrine according to scripture, but not against the scripture.” 2. To Article XIV., he desires him to consider, that this Article only “condemns such evangelical counsels as suppose a fulfilling of the law, and going beyond it, to satisfy and merit for us,” which the papists call works of supererogation. And “upon these reasons,” says he, “I presume did that reverend

prelate Andrews, and that learned Mountagu, subscribe, when they publicly taught evangelical counsels in their writings." 3. To Article XXXI., that it was framed against the popish doctrine of the mass, wherein it is pretended that the priest doth offer Christ for the quick and the dead; "as if another satisfaction for sin;" there being "no such offering of Christ in the scripture, where he will find it once offered for all:" and that "the consequences which may be drawn from transubstantiation amount to little less than blasphemy." 4. To Article XIII., he observes, that "works done by bare nature are not meritorious *de congruo*; nature of sin they must have, if sin be in them;" and that "unless he be a downright Pelagian, he may give it a fair, and safe, and true interpretation." 5. To the objection against confessions of faith, or Articles of religion, he answers, that "the end of these general forms of peace, if capable of any construction, lies against the papists." And he concludes by admonishing him, "not to be too forward, nor possessed with a spirit of contradiction: thus he might——" The sentence is here broken off; but no doubt Dr. Sheldon meant, that if Mr. Chillingworth would lay aside his mistaken scruples and objections, he might then comply with the subscription required, and enjoy the advantages of subscribing. The reader will find this paper of Dr. Sheldon in the Remarks. (xxii.)

REMARKS.

XVIII.—PAGE 92.

This Creed was not composed by Athanasius, but by an unknown author, who lived a long time after him, &c.—Though it is now generally agreed that Athanasius is not the author of the Creed which goes under his name, yet the learned differ very much as to the author of it, the time when it was composed, and when it begun to be received in the churches. I shall only give here the opinion of two or three of them.

Dr. Cave attributes it to Vigilius Tapsensis,* who flourished about the year 484;† and says, that it was first spoken of by Theodulphus Aurelianensis,‡ who died about 821;§ that is, four hundred and fifty years after the death of Athanasius, which happened in 371.|| He adds, that it obtained not in the churches before the year 1000; nor became to be famous every where, till the year 1233.¶ His words are these:—**

SYMBOLUM ATHANASII: *genuinum Athanasii opus non esse satis indicat, quòd nec ipse Athanasius, nec sequentium sæculorum scriptor aliquis ante Theodulphum Aurelianensem libro "De Spiritu Sancto," p. 72, ejus meminerit, nec in ecclesiis ante annum millesimum obtinuerit, neque ubique inclarescere cœperit, donec a Gregorii IX. legatis circa annum 1233, in disputatione Constantinopoli habitâ, sub Athanasii nomine testimonii loco prolatum fuerit.....Non malè forsan a Vigilio Tapsensi constructum, in Græcum sermonem demùm versum, et in ecclesiarum archivis diu latitasse, credi potest. Certè, quod Vigilium attinet, conjecturam firmat quòd Theodulphus Aurelianensis Symbolum citet ex*

* *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia literaria, &c.* Lond. 1688. Pp. 146, 371.

† *Ibid.*, p. 370.

‡ Page 146.

§ Page 501.

|| Page 143.

¶ Page 146.

** Page 146.

*istis Athanasii libris, qui Vigili Tapsensis esse jam certò dignoscuntur: quique in antiquo et probè noto codice Floriacensi cum Vigili libris adversus Nestorium et Eutychem conjunguntur.** And he reckons it among the pieces written by Vigilius. *Id Vigilio*, says he,† *nos, non invitè, ut credimus, veritate, ascribendum censemus.‡*

Father Montfaucon, who put out a very accurate edition of Athanasius's Works, places this Creed among the writings falsely attributed to that father; and, in a dissertation upon it, he says, that though it does not appear who is the

* "THE CREED OF ST. ATHANASIUS.—That this is not a genuine work of Athanasius, is indicated with tolerable clearness by his own silence, and that of all his contemporaries, concerning it; and indeed of every writer in the succeeding centuries, till the age of Theodulphus, bishop of Orleans, (A.D. 794,) who mentions it in page 72 of his treatise '*on the Holy Spirit*;' [which he wrote expressly for the purpose of condensing, and bringing into a continuous series, all the testimonies of the ancient fathers which relate to the procession of the Holy Spirit not only from the Son, but also from the Father;] and it did not obtain extensive circulation among the churches before A.D. 1000. Neither did it begin to claim special notice in all parts till near the year 1233; when it was adduced as formal evidence, under the name of Athanasius, by the ambassadors of pope Gregory IX. in a disputation in which they were engaged about that time at Constantinople. The conjecture carries with it much semblance of probability, which ascribes the composition of it to Vigilius, bishop of Thapsus [Demsas] in Africa; and which assumes, that, after it had at last been translated into the Greek language, it was suffered long to lie in the archives of the churches, in a state of great neglect. As far as Vigilius himself is concerned, this supposition receives some confirmation from the fact, that Theodulphus, bishop of Orleans, quotes this Creed from those books which were for a time attributed to Athanasius, but which are now generally acknowledged to have been composed by Vigilius of Thapsus; and which, in the ancient and well-known Fleury manuscript, are found in close juxta-position with the works which Vigilius wrote against Nestorius and Eutyches."—EDIT. † Page 371. ‡ "Without any reluctance, we believe, on the part of truth itself, the composition of this Creed must, in our judgment, be given to Vigilius."—EDIT.

author of it,* it is probable it was composed in France,† in Latin,‡ about the time of Vincentius Lirinensis;§ and was not taken notice of, or received, before the year 670 or 673. ||

Dr. Waterland hath lately published "A critical History of the Athanasian Creed, representing the Opinions of Ancients and Moderns concerning it," wherein he gives us an exact account of the different opinions of learned men on that subject; and, after having examined the whole matter, conjectures that this "Creed was, in all probability, composed in Gaul, some time between the year 426 and the year 430;" ¶ that it was "composed by Hilary, bishop of Arles, a celebrated man of that time, and of chief repute in the Gallican church;" ** and that the "reception of it in the Gallican churches was, at least, as early as 670; understanding it of its reception into the public offices; but understanding it of its reception as a rule of faith, or an orthodox and excellent formulary and system of belief, it may be justly set as high as 550, which is but twenty years, or thereabout, before Fortunatus commented upon it." ††

XIX.—PAGE 93.

The sense of the church of England concerning that holy day of the Christians, which is called Sunday—The true notion of that and other holy-days, and the reasons for appointing them for the service of God, are thus expressed in the Act of Parliament passed in the year 1552: That Act sets forth, that "as at all times men be not so mindful to laud and praise God, so ready to resort and hear God's holy word, and to come to the holy communion, and other laudable rites, which are to be observed in every

* *Diatrise in Symbolum Quicumque* : *S. Athanasi Oper.*, tom. ii. p. 724. † Page 726. ‡ Page 723. § Page 724.
 || Pages 729, 730. ¶ Page 116. ** Page 117.
 †† Page 79.

Christian congregation, as their bounden duty doth require ; therefore, to call men to remembrance of their duty, and to help their infirmity, it hath been wholesomely provided, that there should be some certain times and days appointed, wherein the Christians should cease from all other kind of labours, and should apply themselves, only and wholly, unto the aforesaid holy works, properly pertaining unto true religion.....and.....as these works are both most commonly, and also may well be, called God's service, so the times appointed specially for the same are called holy-days, not for the matter or nature either of the time or day.....(for so all days and times considered are.....of like holiness,) but for the nature and condition of those godly and holy works.....whereunto such times and days are sanctified and hallowed ; that is to say, separated from all profane uses, and dedicated and appointed, not unto any saint or creature, but only unto God, and his true worship." *

And lest anybody should imagine, that these holy-days have been determined by the scripture, it is added : "Neither is it to be thought that there is any certain time, or definite number of days, prescribed in holy scripture ; but that the appointment, both of the time, and also of the number of the days, is left by the authority of God's word to the liberty of Christ's church, to be determined and assigned orderly in every country, by the direction of the rulers and ministers thereof, as they shall judge most expedient to the true setting forth of God's glory, and the edification of their people."

And that these judicious reflections do not relate to holy-days or saint-days only, but also to Sundays or Lord's days, is evident by what follows : "Be it therefore enacted.....that all the days hereafter mentioned shall be kept, and commanded to be kept, holy-days, and none other ; that is

* Acts passed in the 5th and 6th of Edward VI., cap. 3.

to say, all Sundays in the year, the days of the feast of the circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the Epiphany, of the purification of the blessed Virgin, of St. Matthew the Apostle, of the annunciation of the blessed Virgin," &c. All the other holy-days now kept, are here named: by which it appears, that the Sunday is no otherwise ordered to be kept holy-day, than these other holy-days.

And in order to settle still more clearly the notion people are to have of the Sunday and other holy-days, it is further provided and enacted, "that it shall be lawful to every husbandman, labourer, fisherman, and to all and every other person and persons, of what estate, degree, or condition he or they be, upon the holy-days aforesaid, in harvest, or at any other time in the year when necessity shall require, to labour, ride, fish, or work any kind of work, at their free wills and pleasure."

Which perfectly agrees with the Injunctions of king Edward VI., published in 1547, (five years before the said Act,) wherein it is ordered, that "all parsons, vicars, and curates shall teach and declare unto their parishioners, that they may, with a safe and quiet conscience, in the time of harvest, labour upon the holy and festival days, and save that thing which God hath sent. And if for any scrupulosity, or grudge of conscience, men should superstitiously abstain from working upon those days, that they then should grievously offend and displease God." * These very words queen Elizabeth inserted in her Injunctions published in 1559; save only that after the words "quiet conscience," these are added, "after their Common Prayer." †

This shows the sense of the church of England as to the manner of observing the Christian sabbath or Sunday.

* "Injunctions given by the most excellent Prince Edward VI.," &c., in the "Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Canons," &c., by BISHOP SPARROW, p. 9. Fourth Edition. London, 1684. † See SPARROW, p. 73.

But then another difficulty arises as to the day itself, the fourth commandment being thus : "Remember that thou keep holy the sabbath-day : six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do ; but the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God : in it thou shalt do no manner of work, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, thy cattle, and the stranger that is within thy gate. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day ; wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it." Mr. Chillingworth conceived that praying to God to "incline our hearts to keep this law," imported that the Jewish sabbath, or Saturday, is still in force ; which he thought neither true nor lawful to be said, and, consequently, the Common-Prayer Book unlawful to be used.

This difficulty hath embarrassed our divines.* But Mr. Chillingworth, at last, was convinced of the lawfulness of declaring his assent and consent to the use of the Common-Prayer Book, as we shall see hereafter.

XX.—PAGE 96.

And had thought, that to think so had sufficiently qualified me for a subscription ; yet now, &c.—It is a matter of debate, whether the church of England requires that her Thirty-nine Articles should be subscribed as Articles of belief and assent, or only as Articles of peace and union. "Some have thought," says Dr. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, "that they are only Articles of union and peace ; that they are a standard of doctrine not to be contradicted or disputed ; that the sons of the church are only bound to acquiesce silently in them ; and that the subscription to them only amounts to a general compromise upon those

* Dr Heylin endeavours to solve it in his "History of the Sabbath," first printed *anno* 1631, part ii. chap. iii. sect. 3.

Articles; that so there be no disputing nor wrangling about them. By this means they reckon, that though a man should differ in his opinion from that which appears to be the clear sense of any of the Articles, yet he may, with a good conscience, subscribe them, if the Article appears to him to be of such a nature, that though he thinks it wrong, yet it seems not to be of that consequence, but that it may be borne with, and not contradicted." *

1. This seems to have been the opinion of archbishop Laud. In the relation of his conference with Mr. Fisher, he observes, that "it is one thing for a man to hold an opinion privately within himself, and another thing boldly and publicly to affirm it; † one thing to say, No one of the Articles is superstitious or erroneous, (as it is provided by the fifth canon,) and quite another to say, Every one of them is fundamental, and that in every part of it, to all men's belief." ‡ He observes further, that the church of England "is not such a shrew to her children, as to deny her blessing, or denounce an anathema against them, if some peaceably dissent in some particulars remoter from the foundation;" § that she "never declared, that every one of her Articles are fundamental in the faith;" || and that she "prescribes only to her own children, and by those Articles provides but for her own peaceable consent in those doctrines of truth." ¶ And this is said in opposition to the church of Rome, who hath been "too particular in determining too many things, and making them matters of necessary belief, which had gone for many hundreds of years before only for things of pious opinions;" ** "whose anathemas are, for many points, as far remote from the

* "An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England," in the Introduction, p. 6. Third Edition. London, 1705.

† "A Relation of the Conference between William Laud, then Lord Bishop of St. David's, now Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and Mr. Fisher, the Jesuit," &c., p. 51. Second Edition. London, 1639.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 52. § Page 50. || Page 51. ¶ Page 52.

** Pages 50, 51.

foundation, though to the far greater rack of men's consciences, they must be all made fundamental, if that church have once determined them ;" * and "severely imposes her doctrine upon the whole world under pain of damnation." † Which seems to amount to this : that the church of England proposes only her Articles as Articles of peace and union, and not as Articles of belief and assent, as the Romish church does ; and, consequently, that she is not such a shrew to her children, as had been objected by his adversary. ‡

2. Next to archbishop Laud, we may place Dr. Sheldon, who, in the project of a letter to Mr. Chillingworth, hereafter to be mentioned, calls the Articles, "general forms of peace ;" § which perfectly agrees with what the archbishop had said.

3. Mr. Chillingworth was certainly of the same opinion, when he wrote the preface to his book against Mr. Knott ; as we shall see in another place. ||

4. Dr. Bramhall, archbishop of Armagh, is also very express that this is the sense of the church of England, in requiring subscription to her Articles. And Dr. Stillingfleet, who cites him, hath stated that matter very clearly in the passage I am going to transcribe. That learned man, in his "Rational Account of the Grounds of Protestant Religion ; being a Vindication of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's Relation of a Conference, &c., from the pretended Answer by T. C.," &c., lays down this position : that "nothing ought to be owned as necessary to salvation by Christian societies, but such things which, by the judgment of all those societies, are antecedently necessary to the being of the catholic church ;" and proves it thus : "For," says he, "no reason can be assigned, as I said

* *Ibid.*, p. 51. † Page 52. ‡ See a "True Relation of sundry Conferences had between certain Protestant Doctors, and a Jesuit called M. Fisher," &c., p. 48. Printed in 1626, in 4to.
§ See Remark xxii. || See Remark xxviii.

béfore, why the bonds of union should be extended beyond that which is the church's foundation ; neither can there any reason be given why any thing else should be judged necessary to the church's communion, but what all those churches (who do not manifestly dissent from the catholic church of the first ages) are agreed in as necessary to be believed by all : this will be further explained afterwards. Only I add here, when I speak of the necessary conditions of ecclesiastical communion, I speak of such things which must be owned as necessary Articles of faith, and not of any other agreements for the church's peace. I deny not, therefore, but that in cases of great divisions in the Christian world, and any national church's reforming itself, that church may declare its sense of those abuses in Articles of religion, and require of men a subscription to them ; but then we are to consider that there is a great deal of difference between the owning some propositions in order to peace, and the believing of them as necessary Articles of faith. And this is clearly the difference between the church of Rome, and the church of England. The church of Rome imposeth new Articles of faith, to be believed as necessary to salvation ; as appears by the formerly-cited Bull of Pius IV. ; which Articles contain in them the justification of those things which are most excepted against by other churches ; and by her imposing these as the conditions of her communion, she makes it necessary for other churches, who would preserve the unity of the catholic church upon her true foundations, to forbear her communion. But the church of England makes no Articles of faith, but such as have the testimony and approbation of the whole Christian world of all ages, and are acknowledged to be such by Rome itself ; and in other things she requires subscription to them, not as Articles of faith, but as inferior truths, which she expects a submission to, in order to her peace and tranquillity. So the late learned lord primate of Ireland often expresseth the sense of the

church of England, as to her Thirty-nine Articles. ‘Neither doth the church of England,’ saith he, ‘define any of these questions as necessary to be believed, either *necessitate modii*, or *necessitate præcepti*,* which is much less; but only bindeth her sons, for peace’ sake, not to oppose them.’ † And in another place more fully: ‘We do not suffer any man to reject the Thirty-nine Articles of the church of England at his pleasure; yet neither do we look upon them as essentials of saving faith, or legacies of Christ and his apostles; but, in a mean, as pious opinions fitted for the preservation of unity; neither do we oblige any man to believe them, but only not to contradict them.’ ‡ By which we see what a vast difference there is between those things which are required by the church of England, in order to peace, and those which are imposed by the church of Rome, as part of that faith, *extra quam non est salus*, ‘without belief of which there is no salvation.’ In which, she hath as much violated the unity of the catholic church, as the church of England, by her prudence and moderation, has studied to preserve it.” §

Bishop Bramhall hath several other passages to the same purpose, beside these two mentioned by Dr. Stillingfleet; and they are as clear and positive. The reader will find them collected together, with what archbishop Laud, Mr. Chillingworth, and Dr. Stillingfleet have said on the same subject, in the “Rational Account of the Doctrine of Roman Catholics concerning the Ecclesiastical Guide in Controversies of Religion; reflecting on the later Writings of Protestants; particularly of Archbishop Laud, and Dr. Stillingfleet, on this Subject. By R. H. ;” that is, Abra-

* “Through necessity of means, or through necessity of command.”—EDIT. † BISHOP BRAMHALL’S “Schism guarded,”

sect. vii. p. 396. ‡ Sect. i. cap. xi. p. 190. *Vide* “Replication to the Bishop of Calcedon,” p. 264. § “A rational Account of

the Grounds of Protestant Religion,” &c., p. 54. London, 1665.

ham Woodhead.* For, the Romish controversists made it a matter of reproach to those eminent divines ; pretending it was a novelty, as Mr. Cressy terms it, introduced in the church of England by Mr. Chillingworth.† Mr. Woodhead says the same thing in the preface of his book against Dr. Stillingfleet, entitled, “ Dr. Stillingfleet’s Principles, ‡ giving an Account of the Faith of Protestants, considered by N. O. Paris, 1671. 8vo. ;” and proves it by the Doctor’s “ Rational Account of the Grounds of Protestant Religion,” and by the two foregoing passages of bishop Bramhall, which he cites from that book. Dr. Stillingfleet answered this last treatise of Mr. Woodhead in his “ Answer to several late Treatises, occasioned by a Book entitled, ‘ A Discourse concerning the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome, and the Hazard of Salvation in the Communion of it.’” Part I. 1673. 8vo. Mr. Woodhead replied in “ A Discourse of the Necessity of Church-Guides, for directing Christians in necessary Faith : with Annotations on Dr. Stillingfleet’s Answer to N. O. By R. H.” 1675. 4to. ; and there he says, “ To N. O.’s pressing here, that he seems in his principles to discede from the intentions of the church of England, which, in several passages, requires an assent from her subjects to the verity of her Articles of religion, and conformity to her ceremonies, which implies assent, I do not remember he hath said any thing ; yet a point that, if it were but for the presbyterians’ sake, who boggle much at such a submission, needs some clearing.” And in another place : § “ The other considerable in the same preface, page 6,” says he, “ which he hath passed by and said nothing to, is this :

* See Discourse iii. chap. vii. sect. lxxx. p. 237, &c., of the second edition, printed in 1673. † See Remark xxviii.

‡ These Principles are printed at the end of Dr. Stillingfleet’s “ Discourse concerning the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome,” &c. § “ A Discourse of the Necessity of Church-Guides,” &c., chap. vi. sect lxxxvi. p. 57.

that Mr. Chillingworth, and, since him, several divines of the church of England, (and among these, Dr. Stillingfleet,) in their denying superior councils to have the just authority of obliging their subjects to the yielding of assent to their declarations, are constrained also to disclaim such a submission of assent to the Articles of religion, and Book of Common Prayer, passed in the national Synods of the church of England; yet which submission of assent this church hath formerly challenged in her canons," &c.* But Dr. Stillingfleet seems to have been of another opinion afterwards, and to have owned, that "the church of England doth require assent to the truth of those propositions which are contained in the Thirty-nine Articles." †

To these great men I might add archbishop Sancroft, and several other eminent divines of the church of England, who thought that her Articles were not Articles of belief or assent, but of peace or union; and, consequently, might be subscribed as such.

As for Mr. Chillingworth, it appears by the letter which is the occasion of this Remark, that he was also of that opinion some time before he wrote it; but that when he considered the manner and form of subscription, he changed his mind, and thought that he could not, with safe conscience, subscribe that some things were lawful, which to him appeared unlawful; or that they were agreeable to the word of God, when he conceived they were repugnant to it. "For though I verily believe," says he, "the church of England a true member of the church; that she wants nothing necessary to salvation, and holds nothing repugnant to it; and had thought, that to think so had sufficiently qualified me for a subscription; yet now I plainly see, if I will not juggle with my conscience, and play with God Almighty, I must forbear. For," &c.

* *Ubi supra*, p. 82.

† See the passage cited out of his "Conferences," by Dr. Bennet, in his "Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles," &c., chap. xxxiv. pp. 434, 435.

But he did afterwards overcome these scruples, as we shall see in its proper place. *

XXI—PAGE 99.

The whole postscript shall be transcribed in the Remarks—That postscript is as follows :—

“So much of my defence of Dr. Potter as I have done, I intend to review and perfect before I proceed ; and, if it shall be thought fit, to publish it, annexing a discourse to this effect : That if this be answered, all the rest is so : which, by the strict dependence of that which follows on that which goes before, I shall be able very easily to demonstrate.

“Direct your letters to me at my father’s house in Oxford, and it will be sufficient.

“I am sorry to hear that Mr. Craven continues ill still. I fear he is in more danger than he imagines. Pray, if you can see him, send me word how he does.”

I have acknowledged the favour of my lord bishop of Peterborough, in communicating to me this letter, and that which is printed, page 5. His lordship hath subjoined to them the following memorandum :—

“To the copies of these two letters to Mr. Gilbert Sheldon and Dr. Sheldon, Mr. Wharton, who procured the transcripts, gave this attestation under his own hand : *Ex autographis literis penes Danielem Sheldon armigerum, archiepiscopi nepotem.*”

XXII—PAGE 102.

The reader will find this paper of Dr. Sheldon in the Remarks—I shall give it here, from a copy that was communicated to me.

“God forbid I should persuade any to do against his

* See Remarks xxviii. and xl.

conscience : be it in itself good or bad, it must be a sin to lie.

"It was in a third person, else I would not have told you what I did.

"I must deal plainly with you. I am much afraid it will ruin you here, and not advantage you at the last day.

"I put not the title of conscience upon a humour of contradiction.

"*According*, if *not against*. For it is *according to* scripture, that the church hath power to establish ceremony or doctrine, if occasion require, *not against* the scripture.

"The end of these general forms of peace, if capable of any construction, lies against the papists.

"No evangelical counsels as the papists', such as presuppose a fulfilling of the law, and going beyond it, to satisfy and merit for us, that is according to scripture : in this sense the Article condemns them. Consider it well.

"No such offering of Christ in the scripture, where you will find it once offered for all ; in that manner they did it against whom the Article was framed ; taken with all aggravating circumstances of corporal presence, as if another satisfaction for sin ; the consequences which may be drawn from transubstantiation amount to little less than blasphemy.

"Works done by bare nature are not meritorious *de congruo* ; nature of sin they must have, if sin be in them ; and so it is ; for *malum ex quâlibet causâ*.* Unless a downright Pelagian, you may give it a fair, and safe, and true interpretation.

"Upon these reasons, I presume, did that reverend prelate Andrews, and that learned Mountagu, subscribe, when they publicly taught evangelical counsels in their writings. What you have sent to me in a third person, &c. Be not

* "The evil of sin may arise out of any cause whatsoever."—
EDIT.

too forward, nor possessed with a spirit of contradiction. Thus you may"—

In the catalogue of the manuscripts of Mr. Wharton, drawn up by himself, I find that one of the volumes contained "A Letter of Dr. Sheldon to Mr. Chillingworth, to satisfy his Scruples about subscribing;" * but I can give no account of that letter, having not seen it.

Dr. Sheldon referring, in the foregoing paper, to some eminent divines of the church of England, who "publicly taught evangelical counsels, it will not," perhaps, be amiss to illustrate that matter by a passage out of Dr. Mountagu's "Appeal to Cæsar."

"I do believe there are," says he, "and ever were, evangelical counsels; such as St. Paul mentioneth in his *Consilium autem do*; † such as our Saviour pointed at and directed unto in his *Qui potest capere capiat*; ‡ such as a man may do or not do, without guilt of sin, or breach of law; but nothing less than such as the papists fabric up unto themselves in their works of supererogation. It is an error in divinity, not to put a difference betwixt such works, and works done upon counsel and advice. If any man, not knowing or not considering the state of the question, hath otherwise written, or preached, or taught, what is that to me, or the doctrine of the church of England? His ignorance, or fancy, or misunderstanding, or misapplying, is not the doctrine of antiquity; which, with universal consent, held evangelical counsels; nor of our church, in which our Gamaliel § hath told us, *Quis nescit fieri a nobis*

* MS., M., p. 933.

† The Vulgate translation of part of 1 Cor. vii. 25: "I have no commandment of the Lord: yet I give my judgment."—EDIT.

‡ The Vulgate translation of Matt. xix. 12: "He that is able to receive it, let him receive it."—EDIT.

§ He calls bishop Andrews "our Gamaliel;" and the passage which he cites is from his *Tortura Torti*, written against Cardinal Bellarmine:—"What man is ignorant, that many things are freely performed by us, and that we vow and fulfil our vows about several matters, which God has not commanded?"—EDIT.

could tolerably give a low and impotent notion of
 virtue? * These persons knew it not. Bishop Burnet,
 in his 'Apology' said, 'if in the last age, instead
 against him for it, "that we allow the distinction of pro-
 ceeds and conscience." Lit. v., cap. 17., sect. 2. For his more
 extent not from property, who write no more than he did
 before me: "to me in (and) intelligence is a matter of con-
 sideration, in respect of strict justice may come under precept."
 (cap. 17., sect. 17.) &

* *Ad Apol. Tert.*, p. 154.

* "*Apology Casanova*: a just
 Apology from our countrymen. By Richard Montagu." Part
 in chap. 23. pp. 2.4, 2.5. London, 1625. 4to.

VIII. KNOTT'S ATTEMPT TO ANTICIPATE CHIL-
 LINGWORTH'S ANSWER, AND TO DEFAME HIS
 CHARACTER. CHILLINGWORTH'S NOBLE CON-
 DUCT UNDER HIS BASE AND FALSE IMPUTA-
 TIONS. DESCRIPTION AND DEFENCE OF
 DAILLE'S "RIGHT USE OF THE FATHERS."

MR. KNOTT, being informed that Mr. Chilling-
 worth was preparing an answer to his book against
 Dr. Potter, could not bear with patience that the
 same person who was once accounted a glorious
 acquisition to their party should now become a
 champion for the protestants. These thoughts
 did so exasperate him, that he would not wait for
 the publication of his book; when he might answer
 it, if he pleased, and leave the public to judge of
 both their performances. Such fair, impartial
 dealing was no ways suitable to his temper. He
 therefore took a method peculiar to himself. And

as it is usual to people that want reasons to have recourse to calumny, he resolved to prejudice the public, both against Mr. Chillingworth and his book, in a vile, infamous libel, entitled, "A Direction to be observed by N. N., if he mean to proceed in answering the Book entitled, 'Mercy and Truth; or, Charity maintained by Catholics,' &c." *

This pamphlet is often mentioned by Mr. Chillingworth, and not easily to be got; † I will therefore give here an extract of it.

The design of our Jesuit being, as I observed, to prejudice the public against Mr. Chillingworth's answer, he laid upon him the charge of Socinianism, as the most odious imputation he could find, and the fittest for his purpose.

"In regard," says he, by way of preface, "that he, who pretends to be answering the book entitled 'Mercy and Truth; or, Charity maintained by Catholics,' &c., is strongly reported to be a Socinian; before I give him his charge, it will be requisite to open in brief what kind of people they be who have appeared of late under the name of Socinians; for by this means it will be seen whether his true intention be to defend protestantism, or covertly to vent Socinianism. It will also appear, whether all his pains be taken to any purpose. For 'Charity maintained' having been written against protestants, not intermeddling with

* Printed in 1636, in 8vo., pp. 42, with the phrase usual to such sorts of books, *Permissu Superiorum*. † I could never meet but with one copy of it, in the *Museum Ashmoleanum*; for the perusal of which I am obliged to Mr. Whiteside, keeper of the Museum.

the doctrine of Socinianism. He will never be brought to take me word to the contrary against that sort of imposture and of persons who profess into themselves the names of Protestants, and yet their opinions be, &c.

Dr. Aught divided his pamphlet into five chapters.

In the first, he gives an account of the opinions of the Socinians, and after having represented them on the worst side he could, "What Christian," says he, "can bear these notions without detestation? What church can tolerate them? Nevertheless, this ingenuously sect spreads itself, being cunningly introduced by some, and by the answerer* in particular, and greedily swallowed by many, and fully published by some."†

In the second chapter, he gives "some reasons why so many embrace Socinianism."

The first reason he draws "from the doctrine of protestants." "First, then," says he, "I say that the very doctrine of protestants, if it be followed closely, and with coherence to itself, must of necessity induce Socinianism. This I say confidently, and evidently prove, by instancing in one error, which may well be termed the capital and mother heresy, from which all other must follow at ease; I mean, their heresy in affirming that the perpetually-visible church of Christ, descended by a never-interrupted succession from our Saviour to this day, is not infallible in all that it proposeth to be believed, as revealed truths."‡

* "A Direction to be observed by N. N.," &c., pp. 5, 6.

† Mr. Chillingworth. ‡ Pages 13, 14. § Page 16.

Thus, according to our Jesuit, whoever denies the infallibility of the church of Rome, and is consistent to his principles, must needs be a Socinian. Therefore, it is no wonder if he brought the same imputation upon Mr. Chillingworth, who was a strenuous assertor of the doctrine of the protestants in that "capital and mother heresy," as the Jesuit calls it.

His second reason, "why so many protestants embrace Socinianism," is grounded upon the "practice or proceeding of the church of England," in regard "that their aim and industry tends only to procure an exterior conformity to the laws of the realm."*

The third reason he takes "from the personal quality of protestant divines," † who, neglecting that incomparable study of scholastical metaphysics and divinity, have no deep and solid learning; and being but superficial disputants, find themselves unable to solve the objections of the Socinians. (xxiii.) ‡

The fourth reason he draws "from some circumstances of persons, time, and place;" that is, from the present transactions of archbishop Laud, and other eminent divines of the church of England, who seemed to him weary of the Reformation, and making their best way towards the church of Rome. This he relates with great complacency, and in a lofty, triumphant style.

"The fourth reason," says he, "that casts so many, especially of the best wits, upon Socinian-

* Page 18.
xxiii. at the end of this section, p. 134.

† Page 19.

‡ See Remark

ism, both divines and other among protestants, is, because they will not be catholics in these times; they cannot bring their understanding to be protestants; and so they take the large and easy way of believing what they list. And, to speak the truth, what learned, judicious man can, after impartial examination, embrace protestantism? which waxeth even weary of itself; (and this is an infallible mark of sects and heresies; for where the Holy Ghost directeth, there can be no contrariety, or mutability;) its professors, they especially of greatest worth, learning, and authority, declare themselves to love temper and moderation, allow of many things which some years ago were usually condemned as superstitious; and are at this time more unresolved where to fasten than at the infancy of their church.....The Roman church is still the same, without opposition to itself in any least doctrine; whereas all other sects and sectaries are notoriously known to contradict both their associates and themselves, as now I was saying of the protestant church in England. For do not their churches begin to look with another face? their walls to speak a new language? their preachers to use a sweeter tone? their annual public tenets, in their Universities, to be of another style and matter? their books to appear with titles and arguments, which once would have caused a mighty scandal among the brethren? their doctrine to be altered in many things, (xxiv.,) and even in those very points for which their progenitors forsook the then visible church of Christ? Their Thirty-nine Articles, that is, the sum, the confession, and almost the creed of

their faith, are patient (*patient* ? they are ambitious) of some sense wherein they may seem to be catholic. To allege the necessity of wife and children in these days, is but a weak plea for a married minister to compass a benefice. Fiery Calvinism, once a darling in England, is at last accounted heresy ; yea, and little less than treason. Men, in word and writing, use willingly the once-fearful names of priests and altars. Nay, if one do but mutter against the placing of the altar after the old fashion, for a warning he shall be well warmed by 'A Coal from the Altar.'* English protestants are now put in mind, † that, for exposition of scripture, by canon ‡ they are bound to follow the ancient fathers..... (xxv.) The four prime protestant church-chroniclers, who pretend to deduce a succession of the true church, (the centurists, I mean,) are without ceremony demanded in a particular occasion: 'With what face dare they vent such untruths? and with what conscience dare they forge?' § &c., their bad carriage towards the ancient fathers is displayed ; and for a general censure, they are told, that 'their credit is eclipsed, and their testimony abated by their doings.' || And, to conclude all in one main point: the protestant church in England willingly professeth so small antiquity, and so weak subsistence in itself, that they acknowledge no other visible being for many ages, but in the church of Rome." ¶

* A little treatise so entituled, and printed *anno* 1636.

† "Sunday no Sabbath:" a sermon, printed *anno* 1636, p. 38. ‡ *Lib. Can. anno* 1571, can. 19. § "Sunday

no Sabbath," p. 12. || *Ibid.*, p. 10. ¶ "A Direction to be observed by N. N.," &c., pp. 20—25.

From whence he infers, that protestants are guilty of schism. "But," says he,* "I will not urge these points here, referring myself to what hath been said in 'Charity maintained,' and even to what will appear in those very motives which induced the answerer himself to leave protestantism; and afterward being resolved not to remain catholic, as not conducing to his temporal ends, he finally plunged himself into Socinianism, seeing full well that his own motives could not be answered on the grounds of protestants. But it is time," pursues he,† "to return, and show that I spoke not without ground, in accusing Socinians in general of such unchristian doctrines as you have heard, since you will see my word made good in particular tenets of one of them, which at this fit occasion came to my hands; and I willingly impart them to the reader as they were given me; yet so as in charity I conceal the party taxed with them, no otherwise than I forbear to publish the name of the answerer."

Then follows the third chapter, with this title: "Diverse enormous Heresies, maintained by a certain Socinian, contrary either to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, or to the Faith of all Christians." The heresies he imputes to Mr. Chillingworth, whom he calls here downright "a Socinian," will be found in the Remarks. (xxvi.)

Now, having sufficiently, as he thought, aspersed and blackened Mr. Chillingworth, he at last remembers the title and seeming design of his

* Page 27.

† Page 28.

pamphlet, which was to give him "Directions" how to answer his book.

"And thus," says he, "having showed what Socinianism is, and upon what ground it goes, I may now opportunely deliver the answerer his direction, lest he chance to mistake, and, in lieu of maintaining protestancy, hiddenly plant poison of Socinianism, and leave 'Charity maintained' not so much as once spoken to in the whole answer, as I noted in the beginning." *

Who can now forbear admiring Mr. Knott's charity and good-nature? For he seems to be under a great concern, lest Mr. Chillingworth should not publish a full and direct answer to his book, which must tend to the disreputation of the answerer; or should propagate Socinianism, instead of vindicating the protestant religion, which might prove dangerous to the Church of England. But the truth is, he cared for neither of these inconveniences. His "Directions," no less than every other part of his pamphlet, are artfully and invidiously designed to blast Mr. Chillingworth's reputation, and prejudice the public against him.

These "Directions" are the subject of the fourth chapter, which bears this title: "What the Answerer is to observe, if he will speak to any Purpose;" and they run thus:—

"First. It will be expected, that he declare his own opinion plainly and particularly, and not think to satisfy by a mere destructive† way of

* Page 32.

† *Sed quæ rursum ratio revocabat, ne apud eos (Manichæos) penitus hærerem: nisi quòd ipsos quoque animadvertēbam plus in refellendis aliis disertos et*

objecting such difficulties against catholics as, upon examination, tend to the overthrow of all religion, no less than of catholic doctrine.

“Secondly. That his arguments destroy not some of his own tenets.

“Thirdly. That he contradict not Dr. Potter, whom he pretends to defend, and who maintains the infallibility of God’s church, in fundamental articles; the supernaturality of faith; and divers other points, which I know the answerer laughs at.

“Fourthly. That he oppose not the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England.

“Fifthly. That his grounds destroy not the belief of the most blessed Trinity, the Deity of our dear Lord and Saviour, and of the Holy Ghost; original sin, and divers other doctrines, which all good Christians believe; yea, and all verities, that cannot be proved by natural reason.

“Sixthly. That he rely not upon such principles as must bring with them the denial of divers books of holy scripture, received into the canon both by catholics and protestants. And if he be asked, whether the Epistle of St. James, the Apocalypse of St. John, with some other parts of scripture, now received by English protestants, though heretofore controverted, be canonical, let

copiosos esse, quam in suis probandis firmos et certos manere?
—S. AUGUSTINUS, *De Utilitate Credendi*, cap. 1. [“Yet again, what reason or motive was it which called me back, and which hindered me from pertinaciously adhering to the Manichees? Was it not this single consideration,—that I perceived in them a far better training, and a greater aptitude for refuting the doctrines of other people, than assurance and resolution in proving the truth of their own opinions?”—EDIT.]

him not still think to satisfy, by saying, 'These are captious questions.'

"Seventhly. That he do not overthrow the infallibility of all scripture, both of the Old and New Testament.

"Eighthly. That his arguments tend not to prove an impossibility of all divine, supernatural, infallible faith and religion, that either hath been, or is, or shall be, or possibly can be."*

Mr. Knott sets down afterwards some general rules of reasoning, or logical maxims, and recommends them to Mr. Chillingworth, that his arguments may be satisfactory and conclusive. "And if," says he, "notwithstanding this direction to the contrary, he will be trenching on the said excesses, his book is already answered, even before it appear."† But being sensible that it might be concluded from these words, and even from his whole pamphlet, that he looked upon Mr. Chillingworth as a formidable adversary, whom he was loath to encounter; and, therefore, that he had used all possible means to discredit him, and prepossess the public against his book; he adds, by way of caution and apology: "But let him not interpret this my prevention, or direction, to proceed from fear that his book will be unanswerable, and that, therefore, I seek aforehand to disgrace the author, and forestall the publication: for, by God's holy assistance, his book shall be answered, and the latent venom fetched out, though perhaps he will lay wagers to the contrary; and with his much confidence would per-

* "A Direction," &c., pp. 33, 34.

† Page 35.

suade All Souls * to believe him. And, in truth,"[†] continues he, "what greater advantage could we wish against protestants, than that they should trust their cause, and possibility to be saved, with a champion who often, and even not very long since, hath professed, that he will never subscribe to their Thirty-nine Articles? and hath set down in writing motives which induced him to forsake protestantism, (to which indeed he never returned,) and which are extant still to be exhibited, if need be, under his own hand. But, howsoever, I present a copy of them in the next, which shall be the last, chapter of my 'Direction.'" [†]

Accordingly, the fifth chapter contains "the motives for which," as Mr. Knott expresses it, "the answerer forsook protestantism." These motives shall be transcribed in another place,[‡] with Mr. Chillingworth's answer to them; whereby it will appear how much our Jesuit was mistaken, when he pretended they were unanswerable. This, however, he affirms with great confidence in the following passage, which is the conclusion of his libel:—

"These were," says he, "the answerer's motives; and they are good ones indeed, and so strong, that he could never since frame his mind to protestancy; and the profession of catholic religion not suiting with his desires and designs, as I said before, he fell upon Socinianism, that is, a no religion. I will not here ponder the foresaid

* Some allusion to All-Souls' College.

† Page 36.

‡ See page 168.

motives ; only I must say, as I noted in the precedent chapter, that since they all (except perchance the last) chiefly concern matter of fact, rather than any subtle points of doctrine, he cannot, with any probable show of reason, retract them ; and if he should, yet who would not sooner credit his sincerity whilst he speaks against the current of the times, in this place, and contrary to worldly hopes, than now, when all human respects concur to sway his words, profession, and carriage, even contrary to his inward thoughts ? But, in the mean time, it would be sport to behold Dr. Potter confuting these motives of the answerer, while he is pretending to defend Dr. Potter. And it may well seem a strange and preposterous zeal in the answerer, if he have any regard to the church of England, to have been so long careless in removing this scandal against protestants, and answering his own motives, and yet now to show such fervour in writing against others ; which, whether he do of his own accord, or by entreaty of Dr. Potter, or from some higher command, I am neither certain nor solicitous. My hearty wishes are, that whosoever shall read these motives may, for the eternal good of his own soul, consider them with indifferency, and at leisure, and never rest from soliciting the learnedest protestants, either to give him satisfaction, (which is impossible to be done,) or else not take it ill if he hasten to the one, always visible, catholic, apostolic, Roman church ; out of which none can, without presumption, hope to be saved," &c.*

* Pages 40, 41.

And now the reader sees what arts were used by our Jesuit to raise a general indignation against, and contempt of, Mr. Chillingworth. But his disingenuity and malice will appear the more, if we consider Mr. Chillingworth's carriage towards him, before he wrote that libel; as it is related by Mr. Chillingworth himself, in the preface to his book.

"And in this hope," says he, (namely, that there was nothing in his book dissonant from truth, or from the authorized doctrine of the church of England,) "I am much confirmed, by your strange carriage of yourself in this whole business. For, though by some crooked and sinister arts you have got my answer into your hands, now a year since and upwards, as I have been assured by some that profess to know it, and those of your own party; though you could not want, every day, fair opportunities of sending to me, and acquainting me with any exceptions which you conceived might be justly taken to it, or any part of it, than which nothing could have been more welcome to me; yet, hitherto, you have not been pleased to acquaint me with any one. Nay, more; though you have been, at sundry times, and by several ways, entreated and solicited, nay, pressed and importuned, by me, to join with me in a private discussion of the controversy between us, before the publication of my answer, (because I was extremely unwilling to publish any thing which had not passed all manner of trials,) as desiring not that I, or my side, but that truth, might overcome, on which side soever it was; though I have protested to you,

and set it under my hand, (which protestation, by God's help, I would have made good,) if you, or any other, would undertake your cause, would give me a fair meeting, and choose out of your whole book any one argument, whereof you were most confident, and by which you would be content the rest should be judged of, and make it appear that I had not, or could not answer it; that I would desist from the work which I had undertaken, and answer none at all; though, by all the arts which possibly I could devise, I have provoked you to such a trial, in particular by assuring you that, if you refused it, the world should be informed of your tergiversation;—notwithstanding all this, you have perpetually and obstinately declined it; which, to my understanding, is a very evident sign that there is not any truth in your cause, nor (which is impossible there should be) strength in your arguments; especially considering what our Saviour hath told us: 'Every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved; but he that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest that they are wrought in God.'

"In the mean while, though you despaired of compassing your desire this honest way, yet you have not omitted to tempt me, by base and unworthy considerations, to desert the cause which I had undertaken; letting me understand from you, by an acquaintance common to us both, how that, 'in case my work should come to light, my inconstancy in religion' (so you miscall my constancy

in following that way to heaven which, for the present, seems to me the most probable) 'should be, to my great shame, painted to the life;' that 'my own writings should be produced against myself; that I should be urged to answer my own motives against protestantism; and that such things should be published to the world, touching my belief' (for my painter, I must expect, should have great skill in perspective) 'of the doctrine of the Trinity, the Deity of our Saviour, and all supernatural verities, as should endanger all my benefices, present or future;' that 'this warning was given me, not out of fear of what I could say, (for that catholics, if they might wish any ill, would beg the publication of my book, for respects obvious enough,) but out of a mere charitable desire of my good and reputation:' and 'that all this was said upon a supposition that I was answering, or had a mind to answer, *Charity maintained*; if not, no harm was done.' To which courteous premonition, as I remember, I desired the gentleman who dealt between us to return this answer, or to this effect: 'That I believed the doctrine of the Trinity, the Deity of our Saviour, and all other supernatural verities revealed in scripture, as truly and as heartily as yourself or any man; and, therefore, herein your *charity* was very much *mistaken*; but much more and more uncharitably in conceiving me a man that was to be wrought upon with these *terribiles visu formæ*,* those carnal and base fears

* For a translation, see note, p. 95.—EDIT.

which you presented to me ; which were very proper motives for the devil and his instruments to tempt poor-spirited men out of the way of conscience and honesty ; but very incongruous either for teachers of truth to make use of, or for lovers of truth (in which company I had been long ago matriculated) to hearken to with any regard. But if you were indeed desirous that I should not answer *Charity maintained*, one way there was, and but one, whereby you might obtain your desire ; and that was, by letting me know when and where I might attend you ; and by a fair conference, to be written down on both sides, convincing mine understanding (who was resolved not to be a *recusant* if I were convicted) that any one part of it, any one argument in it, which was of moment and consequence, and whereon the cause depends, was indeed unanswerable.* This was the effect of my answer, which, I am well assured, was delivered ; but reply from you I received none but this,—that you would have no conference with me but in print ; and soon after, finding me of proof against all these batteries, and thereby, I fear, very much enraged, you took up the resolution of the furious goddess in the poet, maddened with the unsuccessfulness of her malice,—

*Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo ! **

“ For certainly those indign contumelies, that

* Subjoined is Pitt’s translation of this line from Virgil :—

“ What, though the partial heavens my aims repel,
I’ll raise new forces from the depths of hell ! ”

—EDIT.

mass of portentous and execrable calumnies, wherewith, in your pamphlet of 'Directions to N. N.,' you have loaded not only my person in particular, but all the learned and moderate divines of the church of England, and all protestants in general, nay, all wise men of all religions but your own, could not proceed from any other fountain." *

* "The Preface," &c., sect. 4—6, according to the second edition, printed in 1638, which I shall follow in the sequel of this tract.

REMARKS.

XXIII.—PAGE 121.

Protestant divines, being but superficial disputants, are unable to solve the objections of the Socinians—I will set down here our Jesuit's own words, for the entertainment of the reader.

"The third reason," says he, "taken from the quality of protestant divines, is this : Socinians, destroying all supernatural belief or infallible assent to any object surpassing the reach of human reason, have as many and as strong objections ready at hand against the Articles of our faith, as the weak understanding of man doth find difficulties in the knowledge of divine things. Now, the learning of protestant divines consisting only in some superficial talent of preaching, languages, or elocution, and not in any deep knowledge of philosophy, especially of metaphysics, and much less of that most solid, profitable, subtle, and succinct method, which we call School-divinity ; when they come to be pressed by Socinians, [they] are unable to satisfy their doubts, but either are caught themselves, as I know it

happeneth not seldom ; or give occasion for the Socinians to be more settled in their errors, and for others to be drawn into the same infidelity. And the devil aimed at no less than this total ruin of all faith and religion, when he first moved heretics to deride School-divinity, and to nickname the professors thereof, dunces." *

XXIV.—PAGE 122.

Their doctrine to be altered in many things, &c.—He instances some of these things in a marginal note. "For example," says he, "the pope not antichrist ; prayer for the dead ; *limbus patrum* ; pictures ; that the church hath authority to determine controversies in faith, and to interpret the scripture ; about free-will, and predestination ; universal grace ; that all our works are not sins ; merit of good works ; inherent justice ; faith alone doth not justify ; charity is to be preferred before knowledge ; traditions ; commandments possible to be kept," &c. †

XXV.—PAGE 123.

English protestants are now put in mind, that they are bound to follow the ancient fathers, &c.—The reader will perhaps be pleased to find here Dr. Heylin's opinion of the foregoing passage of Mr. Knott. "If you will," says he, † "take her [the church of England's] character from the pen of a Jesuit, you shall find him speaking, amongst other falsehoods, these undoubted truths ; namely, that the ' professors of it, they especially of greatest worth, learning, and authority, love temper and moderation : that the doctrines are altered in many things ; as, for example, the pope not antichrist, pictures, free-will, predestination, uni-

* "A Direction to be observed by N. N.," &c., pp. 19, 20.

† Page 23.

‡ "*Cyprianus Anglicus* : or, the History of the Life and Death of William, [Laud,] Archbishop of Canterbury," &c., part ii. lib. iv., *ad annum* 1633, p. 262. London, 1668.

versal grace, inherent righteousness, the preferring of charity before knowledge, the merit (or reward rather) of good works : the Thirty-nine Articles seeming patient, if not ambitious also, of some catholic sense : that their churches begin to look with a new face, their walls to speak a new language, and some of their divines to teach, that the church hath authority in determining controversies of faith, and interpreting the scriptures : that men, in talk and writing, use willingly the once fearful names of priests and altars, and are now put in mind, that for exposition of scripture they are by canon bound to follow the fathers.* So far the Jesuit may be thought to speak nothing but truth." †

As to the ancient fathers, we have seen already what judgment Mr. Chillingworth made of them, and likewise that he formed that judgment from their own writings. ‡ Mr. Cressy, however, pretends that he was led into it by Mr. Daillé's book of "the right Use of the Fathers." He says, § that Mr. Chillingworth, after he was "returned out of Flanders, being doubtful which religion was the best,—the Roman catholic or the protestant,—was resolved to spend a year or two in a solitude, and the study of Greek and Latin fathers, fully purposing to embrace that religion which appeared to him most consonant to what the fathers generally taught ; but that study was presently after interrupted by that unlucky book of Daillé, which persuaded him to a light esteem of the holy fathers, upon whose authority he would no longer rely, and brought him into the church of England." ||

How Mr. Daillé's book happened to fall into Mr. Chillingworth's hands, he had related before. "As I remem-

* "Preface to 'Charity Maintained,' &c., sect. xx." This reference of Dr. Heylin is wrong. † See Appendix, Remark LXI.

—EDIT. ‡ See Remark XI. p. 61. § "Fanaticism fanatically imputed," &c., pp. 166, 167. || "Mr. Chillingworth (thanks to Daillé) became a protestant," says the same Mr. Cressy, in his

"Epistle Apologetical," &c., p. 80.

ber," says he, "it was in the year 1638, that I had occasion to accompany a noble friend in a journey from Dublin to London. When we were ready to return, I went to a bookseller's shop, to search out some books to be carried back into Ireland, and, among others, I bought *Daillé du vray Usage des Peres*,* a book at that time not at all taken notice of. That book the same night I showed to my noble dear lord, Lucius lord Falkland, who, perusing and liking the contents of it, desired me to give it him, which I willingly did. About a month after my return into Ireland, he sent me a most civil letter, full of thanks both in his own, but especially in Mr. Chillingworth's, name, for that small present, telling me, that that little book had saved him a most tedious labour of reading almost twenty great volumes." †

To this passage of Mr. Cressy, the earl of Clarendon makes the following answer: "Mr. Cressy well knows," says his lordship, "that before that time of his journey into Ireland, in the year 1638, that noble lord [my lord Falkland] had perused and read over all the Greek and Latin fathers, and was indefatigable in looking over all books, which, with great expense, he caused to be transmitted to him from all parts, and so could not have been long without Mr. Daillé's book, if Mr. Cressy's presenting it to him had not given him opportunity to have raised this scandal upon his memory; ‡ nor could that book have been so grateful to him, if he had not read the fathers..... And I am very much deceived, which I think I am not in that particular, if Mr. Chillingworth's book against Mr. Knott was not published before the time of Mr. Cressy's journey, in 1638, into Ireland, and I know had been perused

* The title of that book is, *Traicté de l'Employ des Saints Pères*, &c. It was published in 1631. † "Fanaticism," &c., p. 165.

‡ My lord Clarendon had censured Mr. Cressy for "aspersing my lord Falkland with the character of a Socinian;" but Mr. Cressy protests, in his "Epistle Apologetical," pp. 81—83, that he never intended such a thing.

by him, and therefore Mr. Daillé's book could not interrupt him in his study of the fathers." *

My lord Clarendon very rightly observes, that Mr. Chillingworth's book "was published before the time of Mr. Cressy's journey, in 1638, into Ireland ;" for it came out at the end of the year 1637. † And Mr. Cressy seems to acknowledge his error in his "Epistle Apologetical" to my lord Clarendon. For though he "protests, in the presence of God, that he hath not willingly failed in any one material circumstance of this short story," yet he declares, that, "as to the determining the precise year, he dares not engage his credit upon an ill memory." ‡ Whereby he only means, I suppose, that it is certainly true that he bought the book, and presented it to my lord Falkland, who communicated it to Mr. Chillingworth ; for as to what he says besides, namely, that by the reading of it Mr. Chillingworth's study of the fathers was interrupted, &c., (wherein lies the whole stress of his reflection,) there appears no manner of foundation for it.

And since I have had occasion to speak of Mr. Daillé's book, it will not be improper to observe here, that it was received in England with a general applause, and gave the author a great reputation ; as it appears by the following passage out of Mr. Smith's § advertisement prefixed to the English translation of that treatise, printed at London in 1651, in 4to. : "The translation of this tract," says he, "hath been often attempted, and oftener desired by many noble personages of this and other nations ; among others, by sir Lucius Cary, late lord viscount Falkland, who, with his dear friend Mr. Chillingworth, made very much use of it in all their writings against the Romanists. But the papers of that learned nobleman, wherein this translation was half finished, were long since involved in the common

* "Animadversions," &c., *ubi supra*, pp. 185, 186. † See Remark xxxiv. ‡ Page 81, § Thomas Smith, B. D., Fellow of Christ-College in Cambridge. See Remarks xxxvii., xxxviii.

loss.* Those few which have escaped it and the press, make a very honourable mention of this Monsieur, whose acquaintance the said lord was wont to say was worth a voyage to Paris. In page 202 of his Reply he hath these words: 'This observation of mine hath been confirmed by consideration of what hath been so temperately, learnedly, and judiciously written by Monsieur Daillé, our protestant Perron.'† And what the same lord, in a treatise which will shortly be published, saith concerning the popish Perron,—namely, 'Him I can scarce ever *laudare* in one sense, that is, quote, but I must *laudare* in the other, that is, praise, who hath helped the church to all the advantages which wit, learning, industry, judgment, and eloquence could add unto her,'—is as true of our protestant. I shall add but one lord's testimony more; namely, the lord George Digby's, in his late letters concerning religion, ‡ in these words, pages 27, 28: 'The reasons prevalent with me.....whereon an inquiring and judicious person should be obliged to rely and acquiesce, are so amply and so learnedly set down by Monsieur Daillé, in his *Employ des Peres*, that I think little which is material or weighty can be said on this subject, that his rare and piercing observation hath not anticipated.' Were it needful to wander to foreigners for testimonies, I could tell how highly this author is esteemed by the learned and famous Dr. Andrew Rivet, upon whose importunity his book, *Des Images*, and other tracts, have been translated; but, writing to Englishmen, I will only name the judicious Dr. Jeremy Taylor, "Liberty of Prophecy," sec. 8., n. 4, in these words: 'I shall choose such a topic as makes no invasion upon the great reputation of the fathers, which I desire should be preserved sacred as it ought. For other things, let who please read Mr. Daillé, *Du vrai Usage des Peres*.'

* My lord Falkland was killed in the battle of Newbury, Sept. 20th, 1643.

† The lord Falkland's "Discourse of Infallibility, with an Answer to it; and his Lordship's Reply," &c. London, 1651.

‡ See Remark ix., p. 43, note †.

“*Et si quis cuculo locus inter oscines,** I must ingenuously profess,” pursues Mr. Smith, “that it was the reading of this rational book which first convinced me that my study in the French language was not ill employed, which hath also enabled me to commend this to the world, as faithfully translated by a judicious hand,” &c.

It is true, that, since the Restoration, some of our divines, either out of a superstitious respect for the fathers, or mistaking Mr. Daillé’s design, (which was to show the impertinence of the papists, who pretend that the fathers are to be judges of the controversies, at this day, betwixt us and them,) have endeavoured to depreciate his book; but, notwithstanding their attempts, it will ever preserve its reputation among impartial, judicious persons.† My lord Clarendon, who was one of the greatest admirers of that performance, hath made an excellent apology for it, in his answer to Mr. Cressy. I will transcribe here the whole passage, to gratify the reader:—

“Why may it not become the church of England,” says he, “to use the same expressions which cardinal Cajetan so long since did in his preface to his ‘Commentaries upon the Books of Moses,’ in his excuse for having rejected many expositions of the fathers: *Solis sacre scripturæ authoribus reservata autoritas hæc est, ut idè sic credamus esse quia ipsi sic scripserunt?* ‡ Why may it not become any particular member of that church, in a particular point, it may be but in a particular expression, to differ from a particular father, when Petavius, who had as exactly read the fathers, and was as great a master of universal learning as this age hath produced, presumes to say, *Multa sunt a sanctissimis patribus, præsertim a Chrysostomo in homiliis*

* “And if a poor cuckoo may venture to take his stand among the noble birds of augury.”—EDIT.

† See MR. LE CLERC’S *Epistolæ criticae et ecclesiasticæ*, &c., epist. iv. p. 96, *et seq.* Edit. Amstel. 1712.

‡ “To the authors of holy writ solely is this authority reserved,—that we must therefore believe any thing to be thus, because those inspired men have written that thus it is.”—EDIT.

aspersa, quæ si ad exactæ veritatis normam accommodare volueris, boni sensûs inania videbuntur ? * *In Epiphanium*, p. 244. These, and very many more of the like animadversions and detections by Monsieur Daillé, anger and vex Mr. Cressy and his new friends,† much more than any disrespect he is guilty of towards the fathers, of which they cannot assign one instance. All that he says, beside the mentioning them always with all possible reverence, is no more than what Mr. Cressy says of them, and of the four first general councils, (and which, indeed, was the cause of Monsieur Daillé's writing that book,) that neither those holy men, nor the times in which they lived, knew any thing, or had heard of any of the points especially in controversy between us and the church of Rome; and, therefore, that it was a vain affectation to appeal to them for a decision. I do not much wonder at any thing Mr. Cressy says upon this argument; for he owed to himself some extraordinary observation, to make his tale of presenting that 'unlucky book,' as he calls it, of Mr. Daillé to my lord Falkland; and which, he says, persuaded Mr. Chillingworth to have a light esteem of the fathers. But I cannot but admire, and grieve, that he hath so much credit with any member of the church of England, how obscure soever, as to persuade him to have the same opinion, and thereupon to assume the licence and the rashness to asperse, as far as his talent can contribute unto it, the memory of that most loved and most esteemed lord Falkland (whose name he is not worthy to pass through his mouth) with the odious reproach of being a Socinian; and that, when no person of the church of Rome hath had the courage, in so many years, to attempt the answering that book, *De Usu Patrum*,

* "Many passages are interspersed throughout the productions of the holy fathers, but especially the Homilies of St. Chrysostom, which if you wish to accommodate to the rule of exact truth, they will appear to you devoid of any sound meaning."—EDIT. * Mr. Cressy was a new convert to popery. See Remark xxviii.

one of the other church should think it necessary to take the quarrel upon him, and, without any reason, or any instance of moment, reproach Mr. Daillé with his light esteem of the holy fathers, in language not in any degree decent. Nor was the matter or the manner at all necessary to the other part of his book, concerning the church of England; nor can any man, who is disposed to make that inquiry, meet with a greater encouragement to pursue it, than by having read that book of Mr. Daillé." *

My lord Clarendon censures here Mr. Scrivener, who published, in 1672, a scurrilous book against Mr. Daillé, entitled, *Apologia pro S. Ecclesiæ Patribus adversus Jo. Dallæum*; wherein, among other groundless stories, he hath the confidence to say, that Mr. Smith, above-mentioned, had once a design to confute Mr. Daillé's treatise; but, upon better consideration, found it was not worth his while to meddle with it.† If the reader desires to have the character of Mr. Scrivener, and of his book, by a famous Independent,‡ let him read the following passage:—

E quibus [Hierarchicis] duo recentissimâ scriptione gloriam quæsierunt ex magnitudine adversarii, Johannis Dallæi; alter in librum De Usu Patrum, alter in opus de Epistolis Ignatii, sed impari conatu et successu; namque cum hic, qui est Pearsonus, paria cum Dallæo faciat, eruditione, judicio, et oratione succo et sanguine plenâ, tum singulari modestiâ et candore, (et quem audio nullis procubitibus adorare altare,) non alius extat Scrivenero putidior, ineptior, et insipidior; qui cum se profiteatur protestantem, stringit stylum in sententiam Dallæi De Usu Patrum, quæ non nisi homini qui est papismo incoctus displiceat; ut nec quisquam

* "Animadversions," &c., p. 191, et seq. † See MR. BAYLE'S "Dictionary," in the article of DAILLE (JOHN). See Remark H. ‡ LEWIS DU MOULIN'S *Patronus bonæ Fidei, in Causâ Puritanorum, contra Hierarchicos Anglos*, &c. *Epistola*, pp. 63, 64, 66, 67. Lond., 1672.

malignior in viros sanctos, seu Calvinianos, seu Puritanos, quos proscindit caninâ et spurcâ facundiâ, quam quidem, ne quid desit triobolari literatori, ornat oratione barbarâ et inconditâ, quæ saltuatim incedit et per scabra decurrit.

Cæterum, sic ira, iracundia, imò furor cerebrum hominis suâ sede moverunt ut non disputet contra, sed sputet in, Dallæum, in quem tantò acrius invehitur quòd velit eum institutum in scholâ Calvinii et Bezzæ, quorum hortationibus, monitis, et consiliis ait Puritanos fuisse imbutos et incensos, ut jam, per latus Puritanorum, vulnerentur et Dallæus et tota schola Calviniana.....*

Porro, non hic est locus diruendi aut excutiendi fundamentum fluxum et chimericum, aut potius cardinem stramineum, circa quem vertitur tota scriptio Scriveneri in Dallæum, a cujus sententiâ non longè abit Pearsonus; nempe, judicium summum controversiarum, neque in sacrâ scripturâ, ut vult Dallæus; nec in ratione, ut volunt Sociniani; nec in ecclesiâ Romanâ, papâ, traditionibus, conciliis, tum œcumenicis tum topicis; sed in consensu generali, constanti, et perpetuo patrum, positum esse: quæ quidem consensus, cum ne uni doctori de centum millibus sit comperta, nec ei multum fidant pontificii, quibus solenne est repudiare patrum auctoritatem, nec satis constet quinam de mille scriptoribus veteribus et neotericis patres computandi, planum est illud judicium controversiarum secundum Scriveneri hypotheses tam instabili niti arenâ, quàm multitudo muscarum, insidens asseri fluctuanti aquis; illudque judicium controversiarum dependens extra scripturam sacram ab illâ consensione, idem esse firmamentum, ac si ex aranæ filo sexcentæ chimæ dependeant, quæ solâ venti umbrâ difflantur.†

* This Latin clause, *Non disputet, sed sputet*, contains a pun which is not easily transfused into our language: "He does not dispute, but spouts or spurts, against Daillé." — EDIT.

† "Of whom (of the hierarchy) two authors have very recently sought glory for themselves, from the magnitude of the adversary against whom they have entered the lists, and who is none other than JOHN DAILLÉ; the one of them directing his attack against Daillé's

The heresies he imputes to Mr. Chillingworth will be found in the Remarks—Our Jesuit recites them as follows:—

book *On the right Use of the Fathers*, and the other against his observations on the Epistles of St. Ignatius. But in the mode of attack and in its results they are exceedingly dissimilar. For while the latter (bishop PEARSON) is on a perfect equality with Daillé in erudition, judgment, and a style replete with strong and manly sense, being distinguished also for his singular modesty and candour, and (as I hear) never by any genuflections adoring the altar;—there is not a more affected, ribald, and insipid writer than the former, whose name is SCRIVENER. While he professes himself to be a protestant, he attacks, in bitter style, the opinions of Daillé, as expressed in his book *On the right Use of the Fathers*;—opinions which could be displeasing to no one, unless he had been previously tinctured with rank popery: so that no man ever displayed greater malignity than he has done towards holy men, under the names of Calvinists or puritans, whom he calumniates in a rabid and filthy fluency; which indeed, that nothing may be wanting to the pitiful scribbler, he labours to adorn with a style at once barbarous, disorderly, and unpolished, that limps in its paces, and delights in leaping down rugged precipices.

“But the man’s wrath and indignant ire, nay, his fury, have removed his brains out of their proper place, preventing him from employing fair argumentation against Daillé, and prompting him actually to bespatter him with spumy rage. His invectives against Daillé are the more acrimonious, because he wishes to represent him as having been educated in the school of Calvin and Beza; with whose exhortations, admonitions, and counsels, he says, the puritans were imbued, and by them were subsequently inflamed: so that it is his design to wound Daillé and the whole of the Calvinian school through the sides of the puritans.

“Besides, the present is not the fittest opportunity for examining and overturning this frail and chimerical foundation, or rather this slender hinge of straw, upon which, as on a loose swivel, the whole of Scrivener’s strictures on Daillé swing themselves about. On this point Pearson and he nearly co-incide in sentiment; which is,—that the supreme judgment of controversies resides neither in the holy scriptures, which is the opinion of Daillé; nor in reason, which is

“1. That the Son of God is not begotten, from everlasting, of the Father; and is not very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father; and that two whole and perfect natures were not joined in one person. *Contra Articulum 8.*

“2. That Christ did not ascend into heaven in his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man’s nature. *Contra Art. 4.*

“3. That the Holy Ghost doth not proceed from the Father and the Son; nor is of one substance with the Father and the Son, true and eternal God. *Contra Art. 5.*

“4. That all the books of the Old and New Testament, as they are commonly received, are not equal in the authority and infallibility of holy scripture. *Contra Art. 6.*

“5. That the three creeds ought not thoroughly to be received and believed; for that they may be disproved by most certain warrants of holy scripture; and that, among other falsehoods in the Creed of St. Athanasius, this is one,—that if a man disbelieve any part of that Creed, without

the opinion of the Socinians; nor in the church of Rome, the pope, traditions, and councils either general or local; [which is the opinion of the papists;]—but that it resides in the general, constant, and perpetual consent and agreement of the fathers. As not one doctor in a hundred thousand has ever yet discovered this species of consent; as the papists do not place much reliance on it, for with them it is not uncommon to repudiate the authority of the fathers; and as it is still a matter of uncertainty which of the thousand authors (ancient and more modern) we ought to reckon under the denomination of *fathers*;—it is very evident that Scrivener’s hypothetical judgment of controversies rests on as unstable and dangerous a foundation, as that on which a multitude of flies often venture themselves when with careless fatuity they sit on a chip of wood tossed about at the mercy of every rising wave; and that a judgment of controversies which does not depend on holy writ, but on this imaginary *consent of fathers*, is a foundation similar to that in which six hundred chimeras confide, while they repose on a spider’s slender thread, and are blown away by the slightest puff of wind.”—EDIT.

doubt he shall perish everlastingly. That the Apostles' Creed is no certain and authentical tradition ; and that the article of holy catholic church is not necessarily to be believed. *Contra Art. 8.*

"6. That original sin is not the fault and corruption of nature of every man ; nor deserves God's wrath and damnation. *Contra Art. 9.*

"7. That any man may be saved by the law or sects which he professeth ; so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature. *Contra Art. 18.*

"8. That the church hath no authority in controversies of faith, to oblige any man's conscience. *Contra Art. 20.*

"9. That the sacraments be only badges, or tokens of Christian men's profession. *Contra Art. 25, 27.* And that they be not necessary to salvation. *Contra Catechism. Protestant. Anglic.*

"10. That the baptism of young children is not to be retained in the church, as most agreeable to the institution of Christ. *Contra Art. 27.*

"11. That the offering of Christ upon the cross is not a perfect propitiation and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world. *Contra Art. 31.*

"12. That the true body and blood of Christ is not in the blessed sacrament, neither in a real nor spiritual manner ; and that it is only a sign or token of his body. *Contra Art. 28.*

"13. That faith containeth no infallible certainty of the things believed.

"14. That the reasonable soul is not immortal, naturally and *per se*, but *per accidens* ; as it is added to some souls, by way of punishment or reward, to be immortal.

"15. That this immortality of wicked souls is not to be extended, neither to all eternity ; and that it were unjust in God to punish finite offences with infinite torments.

"16. That no point of Christian religion is to be believed above reason.

"For an epilogue to these gross errors," pursues Mr. Knott, "I could add an apologue of his own, and lay in his dish a couple of frogs. He understands my meaning." *

And lest the reader should entertain some doubt, whether Mr. Chillingworth was the person aimed at, he hath in the margin the following note :—

"If the answerer publish his book, and yet will not declare his opinion concerning every one of these wicked positions ; by omitting to plead 'Not guilty' in that occasion, every judicious and zealous Christian will hold him to be guilty of them all."

In the conclusion of that chapter, our Jesuit damns, without any exception, all persons who do not submit to the pretended infallibility of the church of Rome. "Tell me now, Christian reader," says he, "what manner of man this Socinian is ; and what it is to be a Socinian, or protestant, or any other sectary, denying the infallibility of God's church in all her definitions concerning matters of faith ? For, as I have said already, whosoever refuses to rely on such authority, must resolve the truth of his faith into the strength of his own wit ; or, to speak more truly, of his will ; which is, to take away all infallible, supernatural faith ; 'without which' (as the apostle, Heb. xi. 6, avoucheth) 'it is impossible to please God.'" †

* "A Direction," &c., pp. 28—31.

† Pages 31, 32.

IX. CHILLINGWORTH'S ANSWER TO KNOTT IS REVISED BY DRS. PRIDEAUX, BAYLIE, AND FELL, AT THE REQUEST OF ARCHBISHOP LAUD. WHILE AT PRESS, THE SHEETS ARE SURREPTITIOUSLY OBTAINED BY KNOTT. CHILLINGWORTH'S REASONS FOR NOT REPLYING TO THE SECOND PART OF KNOTT'S BOOK. THE ARCHBISHOP'S APPROVAL OF THOSE REASONS. CHILLINGWORTH DEDICATES HIS BOOK TO KING CHARLES I. EXTRACTS FROM IT AND FROM THE PREFACE.

MR. CHILLINGWORTH'S answer to Mr. Knott was very near finished by the beginning of the year 1637. Dr. Laud was then archbishop of Canterbury, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford; and as he knew Mr. Chillingworth's freedom in delivering his thoughts, he was under some apprehension that he might indulge it too much in his book. He therefore recommended the revisal of it to Dr. Prideaux, Professor in Divinity,* and desired it might be published with his approbation annexed to it; as it appears by the following letter:—

“I had almost forgotten,” says he, “a business to you of greater consequence than this; and I cannot tell whether Mr. Vice-Chancellor hath acquainted you with it or no: for I writ not unto him very expressly in the business; but now recalling it, I thought fit to write thus much to yourself. You know, that Mr. Chillingworth is

* He was made bishop of Worcester in the year 1641.

answering of a book that much concerns the church of England ; and I am very sorry that the young man hath given cause why a more watchful eye should be held over him and his writings. But since it is so, I would willingly desire this favour from you in the church's name,—that you would be at the pains to read over this tract, and see that it be put home, in all points, against the church of Rome, as the cause requires. And I am confident Mr. Chillingworth will not be against your altering of any thing that shall be found reasonable. And to the end, that all things may go on to the honour of the church of England, I have desired Dr. Potter, (who is particularly concerned in this business,) so soon as ever he is returned from London, to speak with you about it. And when all these trials* are over, I would be content that both this book, and all others that shall be hereafter licensed in the University, have such an *imprimatur* of the licencer before it as we use here above ; which I shall leave to the wisdom of the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads.” †

To Dr. Prideaux were added Dr. Baylie, Vice-Chancellor of the University, and Dr. Fell, lady Margaret's Professor in Divinity, ‡ for the examination of Mr. Chillingworth's book, which was soon after put to the press at Oxford.

Mr. Knott was then lurking about that place ;

* I suppose he means the trials of Bastwick, Burton, and Prynne.

† “Remains of Archbishop Laud,” vol. ii. p. 128. This letter is dated, “Lambeth, March 3d, 1636-7.”

‡ He was made dean of Christ-Church in 1638. He died in 1648-9.

and when he heard that the answer of Mr. Chillingworth was a-printing, he found means to have the sheets from the press as they were wrought off. The archbishop, having information of this given him by Dr. Potter, sent to Dr. Baylie, the Vice-Chancellor, this letter:—

“You cannot have too careful an eye either over Pullin or the rest; for certainly some are about that place to seduce as many as they can. And particularly Dr. Potter writes me word, that Knott is now in Oxford, (I would you could lay hold of him,) and hath the sheets from the press as they are done; and that he pays five shillings for every sheet; and that you are acquainted with this rumour. I pray, be very careful in this also; for I know the Jesuits are very cunning at these tricks: but if you have no more hold of your printers, than that the press must lie thus open to their corruption, I shall take a sourer course than perhaps is expected. For though perhaps they go so cunningly to work, as that I shall not be able to make a legal proof of this foul misdemeanour; yet, if I find that Knott makes a more speedy answer than is otherwise possible without such seeing of the sheets, I shall take that for proof enough, and proceed to discomission your printer, and suppress his press: and, I pray, fail not to let him know so much from me.” *

The impression of Mr. Chillingworth's answer to the first part of Mr. Knott's book being near finished, he acquainted Dr. Baylie with the rea-

* “Remains,” &c., *ubi supra*, pp. 141, 142. The letter is dated, “Croydon, Sept. 15th, 1637.”

sons he had not to answer the second part. Dr. Baylie desired him to give his reasons in writing; which he did; and they were sent to the archbishop, who returned the following answer to the Vice-Chancellor :—

“I have received the paper of Mr. Chillingworth’s reasons, why he is so loath to meddle with the second part of Knett’s book, thinking the answer to the first sufficient; and truly, were all men that shall come to read his book of his sufficiency, I would be of his opinion, especially supposing that to be true which he gives for one of his reasons, namely, that ‘there is nothing in the second of any worth or moment, that is not a repetition of somewhat in the first.’ Upon all things laid together, I am somewhat divided in my thoughts what to resolve in this business; yet thus far I dare resolve :—

“First. I would not have the answer delayed; which Mr. Chillingworth says he must needs do, and that for some months, if he answer the second part. Secondly. If he answer the first only, I would have him print at the end of it those reasons, which are fit to be public, why he does not answer the second part; and especially that reason which he expresses, namely, ‘that the second part contains almost nothing but repetitions of the former.’ Thirdly. In the answer of the first part, I would quote to a page where the same is repeated in the second part, that so the world may take notice that both parts are answered in one. And, lastly, I would have him acquaint Dr. Potter with as much as may any way be

fit, that so no discontent may arise between them.”*

At last, it was agreed that Mr. Chillingworth, in the conclusion of his work, should give the reasons he had for not publishing an answer to the second part. So the book came out at the latter end of the year 1637,† with this title: “The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation: or, an Answer to a Book entitled, ‘Mercy and Truth: or, Charity maintained by Catholics;’ which pretends to prove the Contrary. By William Chillingworth, Master of Arts, of the University of Oxford.”

Mr. Chillingworth presented his book to the king, in a dedication that may be accounted one of the best performances of that kind, both for elegance and wit, and for the modesty, piety, and liberty which run through it. There, speaking of the cause he vindicates in his book, he observes, that “to the belief hereof he was not led partially, or by chance, as many are, by the prejudice and prepossession of their country, education, and such like inducements, which, if they lead to truth in one place, perhaps lead to error in a hundred; but having, with the greatest equality and indifference, made inquiry and search into the grounds on both sides, he was willing to impart to others that satisfaction which was given to himself.”

He alleges some reasons for the liberty he takes to dedicate this work to His Majesty. I shall only transcribe here the first: “For my inscrib-

* “Remains,” &c., p. 142. That letter is dated, “Croydon, Sept. 22d, 1637.”

† See Remark xxxiv.

ing to it your Majesty's sacred name," says he, "I should labour much in my excuse of it from high presumption, had it not some appearance of title to your Majesty's patronage and protection, as being a defence of that book which, by special order from your Majesty, was written some years since, chiefly for the general good, but, peradventure, not without some aim at the recovery of one of your meanest subjects from a dangerous deviation ; and so due unto your Majesty, as the fruit of your own high humility and most royal charity." These last words are very remarkable ; for they inform us, that Dr. Potter's vindication of the protestant religion, against Mr. Knott's book, was "written by special order from His Majesty ;" and that this most pious and religious prince, by giving such an order, had also "some aim at the recovery of" Mr. Chillingworth "from the dangerous deviation" he happened then to be in.

Next to the dedication were printed, as the archbishop had desired it, the three approbations of Dr. Baylie, Dr. Prideaux, and Dr. Fell ; who had examined Mr. Chillingworth's book with such rigour and severity, as made him say, it had "passed a fiery trial." (xxvii.*)

Let us now come to Mr. Chillingworth's preface, which he inscribed thus : "To the Author of 'Charity maintained ;' with an Answer to his Pamphlet, entituled 'A Direction to N. N.' " He begins it with acknowledging the great expectation Mr. Knott's book against Dr. Potter had raised in him, considering it came from a Jesuit

* See Remark xxvii. at the end of this section, p. 160.

who had the assistance of the ablest men of his order ; and assures him, that he had prepared himself to read it with all possible equity, impartiality, and freedom ; being fully resolved to embrace once more the Romish religion, if it should appear therein to have better and surer grounds than the religion of the protestants.* “Such was,” says he, “my expectation from you, and such my preparation, which I brought with me to the reading of your book.

“Would you know now,” pursues he, “what the event was ? what effect was wrought in me by the perusal and consideration of it ? To deal truly and ingenuously with you, I fell somewhat in my good opinion both of your sufficiency and sincerity ; but was exceedingly confirmed in my ill opinion of the cause maintained by you. I found every where snares that might entrap, and colours that might deceive, the simple ; but nothing that might persuade, and very little that might move, an understanding man, and one that can discern between discourse and sophistry. In short, I was verily persuaded that I plainly saw, and could make it appear to all dispassionate and unprejudicate judges, that a vein of sophistry and calumny did run clean through it, from the beginning to the end. And letting some friends understand so much, I suffered myself to be persuaded by them, that it would not be either improper for me, nor unacceptable to God, nor, peradventure, altogether unserviceable to his church, nor justly offensive to you, (if you indeed were a lover of

* See above, p. 20, *et seq.*

truth, and not a maintainer of a faction,) if—setting aside the second part, which was, in a manner, wholly employed in particular disputes, repetitions, and references, and in wranglings with Dr. Potter about the sense of some supernumerary quotations, and whereon the main question no way depends—I would make a fair and ingenuous answer to the first, wherein the substance of the present controversy is confessedly contained ; and which if it were clearly answered, no man would desire any other answer to the second. This, therefore, I undertook with a full resolution to be an adversary to your errors, but a friend and servant to your person ; and so much the more a friend to your person, by how much the severer and more rigid adversary I was to your errors.” *

He expresses afterwards what care and diligence he had employed to make his answer unexceptionable ; how earnestly he desired, before the printing of it, to confer with Mr. Knott, and hear what he could offer in vindication of any one argument in his book ; and complains, that, instead of agreeing with this fair and reasonable proposal, he had used base and oblique means in order to deter him from publishing his answer.†

Then he proceeds to vindicate, first, the protestants in general ; secondly, the divines of the church of England ; and, lastly, himself, from the calumnies and foul aspersions cast upon them in the Jesuit's pamphlet.

To his objection against the learning of the

* “The Preface to the Author of ‘Charity maintained,’”
sect. 2, 3.

† See above, p. 130, *et seq.*

divines of the church of England, Mr. Chillingworth answers thus: "Their learning," you say, "consists only in 'some superficial talent of preaching, languages, and elocution; and not in any deep knowledge of philosophy, especially of metaphysics, and much less of that most solid, profitable, subtle, and (*O rem ridiculam, Cato, et jocosam!*) succinct method of school divinity.' Wherein you have discovered in yourself the true genius and spirit of detraction. For, taking advantage from that wherein envy itself cannot deny but they are very eminent, and which requires great sufficiency of substantial learning, you disparage them as insufficient in all things else. As if forsooth, because they dispute not eternally, *utrum chimæra bombinans in vacuo, possit comedere secundas intentiones?* * whether a million of angels may not sit upon a needle's point?—because they fill not their brains with notions that signify nothing, to the utter extermination of all reason and common sense, and spend not an age in weaving and unweaving subtle cobwebs, fitter to catch flies than souls; therefore they have no deep knowledge in the acroamatical part of learning! But I have too much honoured the poorness of this detraction to take notice of it." †

As to the foul aspersions cast upon Mr. Chillingworth himself: "Your injuries to me," says he, " (no way deserved by me, but by differing in opinion from you, wherein yet you surely differ from me as much as I from you,) are especially

* "Is it possible for a chimæra, whilst buzzing in the midst of a vacuum, to eat up second intentions?"—EDIT.

† "The Preface," &c., sect. 19.

three. For, first, upon hearsay, and refusing to give me opportunity of begetting in you a better understanding of me, you charge me with a great number of false and impious doctrines ;* which I will not name in particular, because I will not assist you so far in the spreading of my own undeserved defamation ; but whosoever teaches or holds them, let him be anathema ! The sum of them all, cast up by yourself, in your first chapter, is this : ‘ Nothing ought or can be certainly believed, farther than it may be proved by evidence of natural reason ;’ (where I conceive natural reason is opposed to supernatural revelation ;) and whosoever holds so, let him be anathema ! And moreover, to clear myself, once for all, from all imputations of this nature, which charge me injuriously with denial of supernatural verities, I profess sincerely, that I believe all those books of scripture, which the church of England accounts canonical, to be the infallible word of God ; I believe all things evidently contained in them, all things evidently or even probably deducible from them : I acknowledge all that to be heresy, which by the Act of Parliament *primo* of queen Elizabeth is declared to be so, and only to be so : and though in such points which may be held diversely of divers men, *salvâ fidei compage*,† I would not take any man’s liberty from him, and humbly beseech all men that they would not take mine from me ; yet thus much I can say, (which I hope will satisfy any man of reason,) that whatsoever hath

* See Remark xxvi., pp. 145—147.
of faith being preserved inviolate.”—EDIT.

† “ The bond

been held necessary to salvation, either by the catholic church of all ages, or by the consent of fathers, measured by Vincentius Lirinensis's rule, or is held necessary either by the catholic church of this age, or by the consent of protestants, or even by the church of England, that, against the Socinians and all others whatsoever, I do verily believe and embrace."

"Another great and manifest injury you have done me," pursues our author, "in charging me to have forsaken your religion, 'because it conduced not to my temporal ends,' and suited not with my desires and designs; which certainly is a horrible crime, and whereof if you could convince me by just and strong presumptions, I should then acknowledge myself to deserve that opinion which you would fain induce your credents unto,—that I changed not your religion for any other, but for none at all. But of this great fault my conscience acquits me; and God, who only knows the hearts of all men, knows that I am innocent! Neither doubt I but all they who know me, and amongst them many persons of place and quality, will say, they have reason in this matter to be my compurgators. And for you, though you are very affirmative in your accusation, yet you neither do nor can produce any proof or presumption for it; but, forgetting yourself, (as it is God's will oft-times that slanderers should do,) have let fall some passages which, being well weighed, will make considering men apt to believe, that you did not believe yourself. For how is it possible you should believe, that I deserted your religion for ends, and against the light of my conscience, out

of a desire of preferment ; and yet, out of scruple of conscience, should refuse (which also you impute to me) to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles ; that is, refuse to enter at the only common door which here in England leads to preferment ? Again : how incredible is it that you should believe, that I forsook the profession of your religion as not suiting with my desires and designs, which yet reconciles the enjoying of the pleasures and profits of sin here with the hope of happiness hereafter, and proposes as great hope of great temporal advancements to the capable servants of it, as any, nay, more than any, religion in the world ? and, instead of this, should choose Socinianism, a doctrine which—howsoever erroneous in explicating the mysteries of religion, and allowing greater liberty of opinion in speculative matters than any other company of Christians doth or they should do, yet certainly which—you, I am sure, will pretend and maintain to explicate the laws of Christ with more rigour, and less indulgence and condescendence to the desires of flesh and blood than your doctrine doth ! and besides, such a doctrine by which no man, in his right mind, can hope for any honour or preferment either in this church or state or any other ! All which clearly demonstrates, that this foul and false aspersion which you have cast upon me, proceeds from no other fountain but a heart abounding with the gall and bitterness of uncharitableness, and even blinded with malice towards me, or else from a perverse zeal to your superstition, which secretly suggests this persuasion to you,—that for the catholic cause nothing is unlawful ; but that you

may make use of such indirect and crooked arts as these to blast my reputation, and to possess men's minds with disaffection to my person, lest, otherwise, peradventure they might, with some indifference, hear reason from me."

"The third and last part of my accusation," says Mr. Chillingworth, "was, that I 'answer out of principles which protestants themselves will profess to detest;' which indeed were to the purpose, if it could be justified: but, besides that it is confuted by my whole book, and made ridiculous by the approbations premised unto it, it is very easy for me, out of your own mouth and words, to prove it a most injurious calumny. For what one conclusion is there, in the whole fabric of my discourse, that is not naturally deducible out of this one principle,—that 'all things necessary to salvation are evidently contained in scripture?' Or what one conclusion almost of importance is there in your book, which is not by this one clearly confutable?"* And this he proves afterwards, by applying that principle to the seven chapters of his adversary's book.

* "The Preface," &c., sect. 28—30.

REMARKS.

XXVII.—PAGE 183.

His book had "passed a fiery trial"—"In this work," says he, "my conscience bears me witness, that I have, according to your advice, 'proceeded always with this consideration, that I am to give a most strict account of

every line and word that passeth under my pen ;' and, therefore, have been precisely careful for *the matter* of my book to defend truth only, and only by truth ; and then scrupulously fearful of scandalizing you or any man with *the manner* of handling it. From this rule, sure I am, I have not willingly swerved in either part of it ; and that I might not do it ignorantly, I have not only myself examined mine own work, perhaps with more severity than I have done yours, (as conceiving it a base and unchristian thing, to go about to satisfy others with what I myself am not fully satisfied,) but have also made it pass the fiery trial of the exact censures of many understanding judges, always heartily wishing that you yourself had been of the *quorum*. But they who did undergo this burden, as they wanted not sufficiency to discover any heterodox doctrine, so, I am sure, they have been very careful to let nothing slip dissonant from truth or from the authorized doctrine of the church of England ; and, therefore, whatsoever causeless and groundless jealousy any man may entertain concerning my person, yet my book, I presume, in reason and common equity, should be free from them ; wherein I hope, that little or nothing hath escaped so many eyes, which, being weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, will be found too light." *

And, in truth, if we consider, that the censors of Mr. Chillingworth's book were no less distinguished by their high stations in the church of England, than by their constant zeal for her doctrine ; and that they had a particular charge from the archbishop to pass the most strict censure upon that work ; we may reasonably conclude, that if they found any thing in it either contrary to their principles, or liable to the least misinterpretation, they must have amended it, or struck it out. It could never stand their "fiery trial."

And what else can be the intent and purpose of such

* "The Preface," &c., sect. 4.

examinations, if it is not to prevent authors from publishing any doctrine contrary to the sense of the established church or communion? We ought, therefore, to conclude, that the approbations given, in so authentic and solemn a manner, to Mr. Chillingworth's book, do clear and vindicate it from any imputation, or even suspicion, of heterodoxy or novelty. And Mr. Chillingworth very justly appeals to them, in answer to Mr. Knott's suggestion, that he would answer his book against Dr. Potter "out of principles which protestants themselves would profess to detest." For he observes, that this accusation is not only "confuted by his whole book," but "made ridiculous by the approbation premised unto it." * The same he does in other places.

Mr. Knott himself, in a pamphlet hereafter to be mentioned, affirms, that so many "alterations" were made by the censors in Mr. Chillingworth's manuscript, that his book is now "quite another thing" from what it was [when] first drawn up by the author. But, for all that, he boldly repeated his former accusations. And, in the very passage wherein he magnifies the alterations made in Mr. Chillingworth's book, he is not ashamed to charge it with Socinian principles. "Nor could," says he, "the many corrections endeavoured by the approvers of his book, blot out his errors; though, in respect of the alterations which have been, by report, made in it by them, it is quite another thing from the first platform which he drew, and put into their hands." †

Certainly, our Jesuit must have been very confident of the implicit faith of his readers, to persist in charging with Socinianism a book which he pretends had been cast into a new mould by the censors!

Indeed, Mr. Wood tells us, after Mr. Cheynell, that Dr. Prideaux, one of the approbators of Mr. Chilling-

* "The Preface," &c., sect. 30. † "Christianity maintained," &c., p. 79.

worth's book, did give it a very odious character in private conversation. "Before the said 'Religion of Protestants,' &c., went to the press," says Mr. Wood,* "it was, at the desire of Dr. Laud, corrected and amended by Dr. John Prideaux, who afterwards, among his friends, would liken it 'to an unwholesome lamprey, by having a poisonous sting of Socinianism throughout it; and tending, in some places, to plain infidelity and atheism.'"†

But, 1. Dr. Prideaux was not the only person who corrected and amended Mr. Chillingworth's book; Dr. Baylie and Dr. Fell did the same; as we have seen already, and as Mr. Wood might see, in the beginning of that work. 2. Dr. Prideaux's approbation runs thus: *Perlegi hunc librum.....in quo nihil reperio doctrinæ vel disciplinæ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ adversum, sed quamplurima quæ fidem orthodoxam egregiè illustrant, et adversantia glossemata acutè, perspicuè, et modèstè dissipant.*‡ Now, is it probable that he would warrant, in so express and public a manner, the orthodoxy of Mr. Chillingworth's performance, and represent it "afterwards, among his friends, as having a poisonous sting of Socinianism throughout it; and even tending, in some places, to plain infidelity and atheism?" And it might be wondered, that Mr. Wood should recite it out of Mr. Cheynell, without showing the ridicule of it, did we not know how fond he was of defamatory reports, when they concerned any adversaries to popery, especially such great men as Mr. Chillingworth.

* *Athenæ Oxon., ubi supra*, vol. ii. col. 22. † Francis Cheynell, in his book entitled, "A Discussion of Mr. John Fry's Tenets, lately condemned in Parliament," &c., p. 33. ‡ "I have read

through this book, whose title is, *The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation*; in which I find nothing contrary either to the doctrine or the discipline of the church of England; but in it I do find a multitude of things which are eminently illustrative of the orthodox faith, and which dissipate the opposing glosses of adversaries in a manner remarkable for acuteness, perspicuity, and modesty."

—EDIT.

Dr. Fuller takes notice of the same story ; but as a judicious and impartial writer. After having observed, that Mr. Chillingworth, "in testimony of his true conversion, wrote a book, entitled, 'The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation,' against Mr. Knott the Jesuit ; I will not say," pursues he, "*Malo nodo malus quærendus est cuneus*,"* but affirm, No person better qualified than this author, with all necessary accomplishments, to encounter a Jesuit." Then he adds, "It is commonly reported, that Dr. Prideaux compared his book to a lamprey,—fit for food if the venomous string were taken out of the back thereof ; a passage, in my opinion, inconsistent with the doctor's approbation prefixed in the beginning of his book."† We see, that he expresses Dr. Prideaux's pretended saying in a very different manner from Mr. Cheynell ; as it is common for such hearsays, or town-talk, to be variously reported. It may likewise be observed, that the pamphlet where Mr. Cheynell brings in that saying, was printed about the year 1650 ; ‡ but I do not find it mentioned in two other pamphlets, which he wrote *ex professo*, and in a violent strain, against Mr. Chillingworth, in 1642 and 1644, as we shall see in another place ; this story being not, I suppose, come to his hearing at that time.

* This passage contains one of Fuller's latent puns, as will be perceived in the following translation : "A weak and inefficient wedge must be sought out for splitting a hard and crabbed knot."—EDIT.

† "The History of the Worthies of England," &c., pp. 339, 340.

‡ WOOD, *ubi supra*, col. 246.

X. CHILLINGWORTH'S IDEAS CONCERNING SUBSCRIPTION TO THE XXXIX. ARTICLES. HIS TEN MOTIVES FOR BECOMING A PAPIST, AND HIS ANSWERS TO EACH OF THEM.

THE Jesuit having excepted against Mr. Chillingworth's being a fit champion for the protestant cause, first, because he "had often, and even not very long since, professed that he would never subscribe to their Thirty-nine Articles;" and, secondly, because he "had set down in writing motives which induced him to forsake protestantism," and never answered them : * Mr. Chillingworth takes notice of these two exceptions in the close of his preface.

"And thus," says he, "your venom against me is, in a manner, spent, saving only that there remain two little impertinencies, whereby you would disable me from being a fit advocate for the cause of protestants : The first, because I refuse to subscribe the Articles of the church of England ; the second, because I have set down in writing motives which some time induced me to forsake protestantism, and hitherto have not answered them.

"By the former of which objections it should seem, that either you conceive the Thirty-nine Articles the common doctrine of all protestants, (and if they be, why have you so often upbraided them with their many and great differences?) or else, that it is the peculiar defence of the church

* See above, pp. 127, 128.

of England, and not the common cause of all protestants, which is here undertaken by me ; which are certainly very gross mistakes. And yet, why he who makes scruple of subscribing the truth of one or two propositions may not yet be fit enough to maintain, that those who do subscribe them are in a saveable condition, I do not understand. Now, though I hold not the doctrine of all protestants absolutely true, (which with reason cannot be required of me while they hold contradictions,) yet I hold it free from all impiety, and from all error destructive of salvation, or in itself damnable : and this I think in reason may sufficiently qualify me for a maintainer of this assertion,—that ‘Protestancy destroys not salvation.’ For the church of England, I am persuaded that the constant doctrine of it is so pure and orthodox, that whosoever believes it, and lives according to it, undoubtedly he shall be saved ; and that there is no error in it which may necessitate or warrant any man to disturb the peace or renounce the communion of it. This, in my opinion, is all intended by subscription ; and thus much if you conceive me not ready to subscribe, your *charity*, I assure you, is much *mistaken*.” *

Mr. Chillingworth not only expresses here his readiness to subscribe, but declares what he conceives to be the sense and intent of such a subscription ; which he takes now to be a subscription of peace or union, and not of belief or assent, as he thought formerly it was.† And as he did,

* “The Preface,” &c., sect. 39, 40.
pp. 96, 108—118.

† See above,

within a few months, actually subscribe, we have reason to believe he did it in the same sense. (xxviii.*)

"Your other objection against me," pursues our author, "is yet more impertinent and frivolous than the former; unless, perhaps, it be a just exception against a physician, that himself was sometimes in, and recovered himself from, that disease which he undertakes to cure; or against a guide in a way, that at first, before he had experience, himself mistook it, and afterwards found his error and amended it. That noble writer, Michael de Montaigne, was surely of a far different mind; for he will hardly allow any physician competent but only for such diseases as himself had passed through: and a far greater than Montaigne, even He that said, *Tu conversus confirma fratres*,† gives us sufficiently to understand, that they which have themselves been in such a state as to need conversion, are not thereby made incapable of, but rather engaged and obliged unto, and qualified for, this charitable function."

"Neither am I guilty," adds Mr. Chillingworth, "of that strange and preposterous zeal (as you esteem it) which you impute to me,—for having been so long careless in removing this scandal against protestants, and answering my own motives, and yet now showing such fervour in writing against others. For neither are they other motives, but the very same, for the most part, with those which abused me, against which this

* See Remark xxviii. at the end of this section, p. 175.

† "When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." (Luke xxii. 32.)—EDIT.

book, which I now publish, is in a manner wholly employed : and besides, though you Jesuits take upon you to have such large and universal intelligence of all state affairs and matters of importance, yet I hope such a contemptible matter as an answer of mine to a little piece of paper, may very probably have been written, and escaped your observation. The truth is, I made an answer to them three years since and better, which perhaps might have been published, but for two reasons : one, because the motives were never public until you made them so ; the other, because I was loath to proclaim to all the world so much weakness as I showed, in suffering myself to be abused by such silly sophisms ; all which proceed upon mistakes and false suppositions, which unadvisedly I took for granted ; as, when I have set down the motives in order, by subsequent answers to them I shall quickly demonstrate, and so make an end." *

Then he sets down the motives, as they were published by his adversary ; and afterwards his answers to them, briefly and in the same order.† But, for the conveniency of the reader, I will transcribe them here separately, and subjoin each answer to each motive.

"MOTIVE I.—Because perpetual, visible profession, which could never be wanting to the religion of Christ, nor any part of it, is apparently wanting to protestant religion, so far as concerns the points in contestation.

* "The Preface," &c., sect. 41, 42.

† Sect. 43, 44.

“ANSWER.—God hath neither decreed nor foretold, that his true doctrine should, *de facto*, be always visibly professed, without any mixture of falsehood.”

“MOTIVE II.—Because Luther and his followers, separating from the church of Rome, separated also from all churches, pure or impure, true or false, then being in the world; upon which ground I conclude, that either God’s promises did fail of performance, if there were then no church in the world which held all things necessary, and nothing repugnant, to salvation; or else that Luther and his sectaries, separating from all churches then in the world, and so from the true, if there were any true, were damnable schismatics.

“ANSWER.—God hath neither decreed nor foretold, that there shall be always a visible company of men free from all error in itself damnable. Neither is it always of necessity schismatical to separate from the external communion of a church, though wanting nothing necessary; for if this church supposed to want nothing necessary require me to profess, against my conscience, that I believe some error, though never so small and innocent, which I do not believe, and will not allow me her communion but upon this condition: in this case the church, for requiring this condition, is schismatical, and not I for separating from the church.”

“MOTIVE III.—Because, if any credit may be given to as creditable records as any [that] are

extant, the doctrine of catholics hath been frequently confirmed, and the opposite doctrine of protestants confounded, with supernatural and Divine miracles.

“ANSWER.—If any credit may be given to records far more creditable than these, the doctrine of protestants, that is, the Bible, hath been confirmed, and the doctrine of papists, which is, in many points, plainly opposite to it, confounded, with supernatural and Divine miracles, which, for number and glory, outshine popish pretended miracles, as much as the sun doth an *ignis fatuus* ; those, I mean, which were wrought by our Saviour Christ and his apostles. Now this book, by the confession of all sides, confirmed by innumerable miracles, foretells me plainly, that, in after-ages, great signs and wonders shall be wrought in confirmation of false doctrine, and that I am not to believe any doctrine which seems to my understanding repugnant to the first, though an angel from heaven should teach it ; which were certainly as great a miracle as any that was ever wrought in attestation of any part of the doctrine of the church of Rome. But that true doctrine should, in all ages, have the testimony of miracles, THAT I am no where taught ; so that I have more reason to suspect and be afraid of pretended miracles, as signs of false doctrine, than much to regard them as certain arguments of the truth. Besides, setting aside the Bible, and the tradition of it, there is as good story for miracles wrought by those who lived and died in opposition to the doctrine of the Roman church, (as by St. Cyprian, Colmannus, Columbanus, Aidanus, and others,)

as there is for those that are pretended to be wrought by the members of that church. Lastly. It seems to me no strange thing, that God, in his justice, should permit some true miracles to be wrought to delude them who have forged so many, as apparently the professors of the Roman doctrine have, to abuse the world."

"MOTIVE IV.—Because many points of protestant doctrine are the damned opinions of heretics, condemned by the primitive church.

"ANSWER.—All those were not heretics which by Philastrius, Epiphanius, or St. Austin, were put in the catalogue of heretics." *

"MOTIVE V.—Because the prophecies of the Old Testament, touching the conversion of kings and nations to the true religion of Christ, have been accomplished in and by the catholic Roman religion, and the professors of it, and not by protestant religion, and the professors of it.

"ANSWER.—Kings and nations have been, and may be, converted by men of contrary religions."

"MOTIVE VI.—Because the doctrine of the church of Rome is conformable, and the doctrine of protestants contrary, to the doctrine of the fathers of the primitive church, even by the confession of protestants themselves; I mean, those fathers who lived within the compass of the first six hundred years; to whom protestants them-

* See this acknowledged by Bellarmine, *De Scrip. Eccles. in Philastrio*; by Petavius, *Animad. in Epiph. de Inscrip. Operis*; by St. Austin, *Lib. de Hæres. Hær. 80.*

selves do very frequently and very confidently appeal.

“ANSWER.—The doctrine of papists is confessed by papists contrary to the fathers in many points.”

“MOTIVE VII.—Because the first pretended Reformers had neither extraordinary commission from God, nor ordinary mission from the church, to preach protestant doctrine.

“ANSWER.—The pastors of a church cannot but have authority from it to preach against the abuses of it, whether in doctrine or practice, if there be any in it; neither can any Christian want an ordinary commission from God to do a necessary work of charity after a peaceable manner, when there is nobody else that can or will do it. In extraordinary cases, extraordinary courses are not to be disallowed. If some Christian layman should come into a country of infidels, and had ability to persuade them to Christianity, who would say he might not use it for want of commission?”

“MOTIVE VIII.—Because Luther, to preach against the mass, (which contains the most material points now in controversy,) was persuaded by reasons suggested to him by the devil himself disputing with him. So himself professeth in his book, *De Missâ Privatâ*; that all men might take heed of following him who professeth himself to follow the devil.

“ANSWER.—Luther’s conference with the devil might be, for aught I know, nothing but a melan-

choly dream : if it were real, the devil might persuade Luther from the mass, hoping by doing so to keep him constant to it ; or that others would make his dissuasion from it an argument for it, (as we see papists do,) and be afraid of following Luther, as confessing himself to have been persuaded by the devil."

"MOTIVE IX.—Because the protestant cause is now, and hath been from the beginning, maintained with gross falsifications and calumnies ; whereof their prime controversy-writers are notoriously, and in high degree, guilty.

"ANSWER.—*Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra.** Papists are more guilty of this fault than protestants. Even this very author, in this very pamphlet, hath not so many leaves as falsifications and calumnies."

"MOTIVE X.—Because, by denying all human authority, either of pope, or councils, or church, to determine controversies of faith, they have abolished all possible means of suppressing heresy, or restoring unity to the church.

"ANSWER.—Let all men believe the scripture, and that only, and endeavour to believe it in the true sense, and require no more of others ; and they shall find this not only a better, but the only, means to suppress heresy, and restore unity. For, he that believes the scripture sincerely, and endeavours to believe it in the true sense, cannot pos-

* This is DUNCOMBE's translation of Horace's verse :—

"Alike ambition, anger, lust, deceit,
Reign in the Trojan walls, and Grecian fleet."—EDIT.

sibly be a heretic : and if no more than this were required of any man to make him capable of the church's communion, then all men so qualified, though they were different in opinion, yet, notwithstanding any such difference, must be, of necessity, one in communion." *

As to that part of Mr. Knott's pamphlet wherein he directed our author "what he was to observe, if he would speak to any purpose," † Mr. Chillingworth answers it in the conclusion of his book. "And thus," says he, "by God's assistance, and the advantage of a good cause, I am at length, through a passage rather tiring than difficult, arrived at the end of my undertaken voyage ; and have, as I suppose, made appear, to all disinterested and unprejudicate readers, what in the beginning I undertook,—that a vein of sophistry and calumny runs clean through this first part of your book ; wherein though I never thought of the directions you have been pleased to give me in your pamphlet, entitled, 'A Direction to N. N.,' yet, upon consideration of my answer, I find that I have proceeded as if I had had it always before my eyes, and steered my course by it as by a card and compass.

"For, first, 'I have not proceeded by a mere destructive way,' as you call it, 'nor objected such difficulties against your religion as, upon examination, tend to the overthrow of all religion ;' but have showed that the truth of Christianity is

* "The Preface," &c., sect. 43, 44.
p. 126.

† See above,

clearly independent upon the truth of popery ; and that, on the other side, the arguments you urge, and the courses you take, for the maintenance of your religion, do manifestly tend (if they be closely and consequently followed) to the destruction of all religion, and lead men by the hand to atheism and impiety ; whereof I have given you ocular demonstrations in divers places of my book, but especially in my answer to your ‘ Direction to N. N.’ ” *

* “ The Religion of Protestants,” &c., p. 389.

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We have reason to believe that he subscribed in the same sense—Dr. Bennet, in his “ Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles,” undertakes to prove, that a subscription of belief or assent to the Articles is required from the clergy, and not a mere subscription of peace or union.† And, from the foregoing passage of Mr. Chillingworth, he endeavours to show that this was also his opinion. After having transcribed that passage, he proceeds thus :—

“ In the latter part of the words before quoted,” says he, “ Mr. Chillingworth asserts, that, ‘ in his opinion, all that is intended by subscription is, that the constant doctrine of the church of England is so pure and orthodox, that whosoever believes it, and lives according to it, shall undoubtedly be saved ; and that there is no error in it which may necessitate or warrant any man to disturb the peace, or

† See Remark xx., p. 108.

renounce the communion, of it.' From whence it may seem to follow, that a man may, in Mr. Chillingworth's opinion, subscribe the Articles, although he does not think every proposition of them true ; provided the untrue proposition be of so small consequence as was before described. But I answer, that when Mr. Chillingworth says, 'This, in my opinion, is all intended by subscription,' he neither does nor can mean, 'This is all that the person who subscribes is supposed and required by the subscription to profess.' For then Mr. Chillingworth must needs be inconsistent with himself. For he owns, that he did, at that time, refuse to subscribe ; and yet confesses, that he was, at that very time, 'ready to subscribe, that the constant doctrine of the church of England is so pure and orthodox, that whosoever believes it, and lives according to it, shall undoubtedly be saved ; and that there is no error in it which may necessitate or warrant any man to disturb the peace, or renounce the communion, of it.' Surely, he would not refuse subscription, though he was ready to subscribe what he refused subscription to.

"Wherefore, the case was plainly this : Mr. Chillingworth was persuaded, that those who subscribe are supposed and required to subscribe to the truth of the Articles. For he therefore refused to subscribe, because he 'made scruple of subscribing the truth of one or two propositions ;' his doubts about which propositions made him refuse subscription to the Articles in general, which included those propositions. And yet he was, at the same time, persuaded, and 'ready to subscribe, that the constant doctrine of the church of England is so pure and orthodox, that whosoever believes it, and lives according to it, shall undoubtedly be saved.' And he continued in communion with our church ; because, though he scrupled subscribing one or two propositions, yet he was persuaded, and ready to subscribe, that there is 'no error in her doctrine which may necessitate or warrant any man to disturb her peace,

or renounce her communion.' So that the propositions he scrupled to subscribe, were of no great or dangerous consequence. Wherefore, when he says, that what he was thus ready to subscribe, at the same time that he refused the legal subscription, was, in his opinion, all intended by subscription; he must needs mean, that what he was ready to subscribe, was all that our governors did, by subscription, intend and endeavour to secure and provide for the acknowledgment of; though the form of subscription, legally enjoined, carried the matter something farther than the first design of it did, in his opinion, oblige our governors to insist on. For the form requires men to subscribe, willingly and *ex animo*, to all things contained in the Articles; that is, to the truth of them all; and, therefore, though Mr. Chillingworth was ready to subscribe what was intended, yet he refused to subscribe what was required." *

But I will presume to say, that we do not want Dr. Bennet's ingenious distinction on this occasion. For Mr. Chillingworth does not himself affirm or own, that, at the time of writing that passage, he did refuse to subscribe; he only recites one of Mr. Knott's objections, contained in a pamphlet printed two years before he wrote the said passage, whereby that Jesuit would disable him from being a fit advocate for the cause of protestants.† Which objection he answers by declaring, that he was now "ready to subscribe;" and adds, withal, what he conceived to be intended by subscription. His answer, in short, amounts to this: "You pretend, that I am not a fit advocate for the cause of protestants, and especially for the church of England; because I refuse, you say, to subscribe the Articles of that church: but, I assure you, you are much mistaken; for I am ready to subscribe to all that, in my opinion, is intended by subscription." Which is a full and direct answer. Whereas, according to Dr. Bennet's

* "An Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles," &c., chap. xxxiv. pp. 429, 430.

† "The Preface," &c., sect. 39.

interpretation, Mr. Chillingworth leaves the Jesuit's objection unanswered. For his answer will come to this: "You say, that I am not 'a fit advocate for the cause of protestants,' nor, consequently, for the church of England, because I 'refuse to subscribe the Articles' of that church; but I must tell you, that I am ready to subscribe all that was first designed and intended by subscription; though I refuse to subscribe what hath been since, and is now, required by the form of subscription legally enjoined." Which is to say, "I refuse to subscribe," and own the Jesuit's charge to be true.

Mr. Chillingworth does not only express his readiness to subscribe, but, at the same time, declares in what sense he was ready to subscribe, by showing what he judged to be intended by subscription. "For the church of England," says he,* "I am persuaded that the constant doctrine of it is so pure and orthodox, that whosoever believes it, and lives according to it, undoubtedly he shall be saved; and that there is no error in it which may necessitate or warrant any man to disturb the peace or renounce the communion of it. This, in my opinion, is all intended by subscription; and thus much, if you conceive me not ready to subscribe, your *charity*, I assure you, is much *mistaken*."† Whereby it is evident, that he judged the subscription to the Articles to be a subscription of peace and union, and not of belief or assent.

Mr. Chillingworth's sense of the subscription hath been so generally understood in the manner I have said, that the Romish controversists have, some, endeavoured to ridicule it; and others represented it as a novelty he had introduced into the church of England; because he is the first that hath expressed himself clearly and distinctly in that respect; and I do not remember that our divines, who answered their books, have taken notice of that imputa-

* *Ibid.*, sect. 40.

† An allusion to Mr. Knott's pamphlet, entitled, "*Charity mistaken*," &c. See the text, p. 44.

tion. But let us see what those controversists say. It will be sufficient to cite two or three of them.

The first is Mr. Lacy, the Jesuit, who published, in 1639, a pamphlet, entitled, "The Judgment of an University-Man," &c., against Mr. Chillingworth's preface.* After having transcribed out of it the aforesaid paragraph, "The doctrine of the church of England is so pure," &c., and observed, that this acknowledgment, Mr. Chillingworth is persuaded, is the only thing intended by subscription, he adds, as an answer to it, "By this, you see, he hath now levelled his way to ecclesiastical preferment; so that, if hereafter you hear he hath accepted any such commodity, you may know he did it upon better consideration. The scruple he had concerning subscription is vanished into the air, whither the rest of his scruples will follow in their turns. It may be, that scruple was 'but a melancholy dream,' such as he conceives Luther's conference with the devil might be. He is now *materia prima* for any benefice, chair, prebendary, canonry, or what ye will. You may conjecture who hath had the tempering and working of this pliable clay: he was a master in that feat, you may assure yourself, if not a doctor, and this his master-piece."† Whereby it appears, that Mr. Lacy concluded, from Mr. Chillingworth's expressions, that his scruples about the subscription were removed; that he was now persuaded, that the acknowledgment of the propositions he recites, namely, that "the constant doctrine of the church of England is so pure," &c., was "the only thing intended by subscription;" and that he was "ready to subscribe" in that sense; and "had, by this, now levelled his way to ecclesiastical preferment."

Mr. Knott hath not showed here the same ingenuity as Mr. Lacy: for he persisted, to the last, in the accusation

* See Remark XXXVII., pp. 246—249.
of an University-Man," &c., p. 156.

† "The Judgment

he first brought against Mr. Chillingworth, in his "Direction to N. N.," that he did "refuse to subscribe." *

My second author is Mr. Cressy, who was once dean of Laughlin in Ireland, and canon of Windsor; but, having left England in 1644, he embraced the Romish religion at Rome, in 1646,† and became a noted champion for popery. He published the motives of his conversion at Paris, in 1647, under this title: "*Exomologesis*: or, a faithful Narration of the Occasions and Motives of the Conversion, unto catholic Unity, of Hugh Paulin de Cressy, lately Dean of Laughlin, &c., in Ireland, and Prebend of Windsor in England;" and, at the same time that he endeavours to confute Mr. Chillingworth's principles, he expresses a great esteem and veneration for his person. He acknowledges "the inwardness ‡ which he had, for many years, with that worthy person; the mutual friendship there was between them; the great obligations he had to cherish his memory; and the high esteem of his excellent parts." § Mr. Cressy, being thus intimately acquainted with Mr. Chillingworth, whom he had frequent opportunities to see, not only at Oxford, but also at the lord Falkland's, must certainly have known what his opinion was concerning the subscription to the Articles. Let us, therefore, see how he represents it.

"Mr. Chillingworth," says he,|| "by his sharp understanding, and long meditation,.....considering that no protestant or other church could, upon their generally-acknowledged grounds, authoritatively define either the number or sense of articles of faith, so as to oblige any

* See Remark VI., p. 26; and XL., p. 265. † WOOD, vol. II. col. 386. ‡ *Exomologesis*, &c., p. 141. Edit. 1647. § These expressions of esteem and respect towards Mr. Chillingworth have been left out in the second edition of Mr. Cressy's book, printed in 1653, which was new-modelled by order of his superiors. || *Exomologesis*, &c., pp. 404, 406, of the first edition; and pp. 296, 297, of the second edition.

man, even within her communion, in conscience to assent and submission ; (for, for example, if an Englishman would not subscribe to the sense of any Article of the church of England, all the penalty would be, he should not partake of the privileges and preferments of that church ; but he might go over into Denmark or Holland, whose sense in such an Article he liked better, and still be acknowledged, even by the English church, to be orthodox enough ;) he therefore was forced to introduce two novelties among English protestants, which find great approbation : the first * is, to alter the old manner and notion of subscription to the English Articles ; for whereas before, the protestants there, by their subscription, testified their belief of all the Thirty-nine Articles, in the sense imported in the words ; yea, whereas there was a canon which denounced excommunication, *ipso facto*, to all that should say that any of them were not true ; Mr. Chillingworth thus expresseth his mind in subscribing : ‘I am persuaded that the constant doctrine of the church of England is so pure and orthodox, that whosoever believes it, and lives according to it, undoubtedly he shall be saved ; and that there is no error in it which may necessitate or warrant any man to disturb the peace or renounce the communion of it. This, in my opinion,’ saith he, ‘is all intended by subscription.’” †

My third author is Mr. Woodhead, who likewise pretends, that this sense of the subscription was first brought into the church of England by Mr. Chillingworth ; as it appears by several passages in his books, beside those I have already transcribed in another place. ‡

Mr. Chillingworth’s sense and meaning is understood in the same manner by the Nonconformists. “But this,” says one of them, “many of us confess, ‘That after the

* For the second pretended innovation, see Remark xxxi., p. 209.

† “Answer to ‘A Direction to N. N.,’” par. 39.

‡ See Remark xx., p. 113.

way that they call schism and fanaticism, so worship we the God of our fathers ;' believing all things that are written in the Old and New Testament, and in the Articles of religion of the church of England, so far as concerns the doctrine of faith and sacraments ; and are still ready to subscribe to all that the learned and famous Mr. Chillingworth saith was meant by subscription ; namely, 'That we are persuaded that the constant doctrine of the church of England is so pure and orthodox, that whosoever believes it, and lives according to it, shall be saved ; and that there is no error in it which may necessitate any man to disturb the peace or renounce the communion of it.' Now, this being our judgment," adds that author, "I humbly conceive we are acquitted from schism in the opinion of Mr. Chillingworth, and ought to be so in the judgment of that learned and judicious bishop Saunderson, who, as I have been credibly informed, being asked what he thought of the subscription before mentioned, said, (after he had read it, and considered it,) 'I never subscribed in any other sense myself.'"^{*}

And now having, I hope, made it evident, that Mr. Chillingworth considered the subscription to the Articles as a subscription of union and peace, and not of belief or assent, "we have reason to believe that he subscribed in that sense ;" which is the assertion I undertook to prove in this Remark. But if any body should still entertain some scruple about it, I will only desire them to observe, that this was also the sense of archbishop Laud,[†] which could hardly be unknown to Mr. Chillingworth ; and the opinion of Dr. Sheldon, who laboured to convince him of it, [‡] and was, no doubt, the person that brought him at last into it.

^{*} "A humble Apology for Nonconformists," &c., preface. 8vo. 1669.

[†] See Remark xx., p. 109.

[‡] See Remark xxii.,

p. 116.

XI. CHILLINGWORTH'S MODE OF DEFENDING DR. POTTER. HIS REASONS FOR NOT PUBLISHING AN ANSWER TO THE SECOND PART OF KNOTT'S BOOK.

MR. CHILLINGWORTH having so fully vindicated himself from the imputation of proceeding "a mere destructive way," it may seem strange that the same charge should have been so often repeated against him. (xxix.)*

Mr. Chillingworth goes on: "Neither can I," says he, "'discover any repugnance between any one part of my answer and any other,' though I have used many more judicious and more searching eyes than my own to make, if it were possible, such a discovery.....but, on the other side, I have charged you frequently, and very justly, with manifest contradiction and retractation of your own assertions, and not seldom of the main grounds you build upon, and the principal conclusions which you endeavour to maintain; which I conceive myself to have made apparent even to the eye.....

"And though I did never pretend to defend Dr. Potter absolutely and in all things, but only so far as he defends truth, (neither did Dr. Potter desire me, nor any law of God or man oblige me, to defend him any farther,) yet I do not find that I have cause to differ from him in any matter of moment; particularly, 'not concerning the infallibility of God's church,' which I grant with him to be infallible in fundamentals, because if it

* See Remark xxix. at the end of this section, p. 190.

should err in fundamentals, it were not the church; 'nor concerning the supernaturality of faith,' which I know and believe, as well as you, 'to be the gift of God,' and 'that flesh and blood revealed it not unto us, but our Father which is in heaven.' But now, if it were demanded, what defence you can make for deserting 'Charity mistaken' in the main question disputed between him and Dr. Potter, 'Whether protestancy, without a particular repentance and dereliction of it, destroy salvation,' whereof I have convinced you; I believe your answer would be much like that which Ulysses makes, in the *Metamorphosis*, for his running away from his friend Nestor, that is, none at all.

"For 'opposing the Articles of the church of England,' the approbation,* I presume, clears my book from this imputation.

"And whereas you give me a caution, 'that my grounds destroy not the belief of diverse doctrines which all good Christians believe, yea, and of all verities that cannot be proved by natural reason;' I profess sincerely that I do not know nor believe, that any ground laid by me in my whole book is any way inconsistent with any one such doctrine, or with any verity revealed in the word of God, though never so improbable or incomprehensible to natural reason; and if I thought there were, I would deal with it as those primitive converts dealt with their curious books in the Acts of the Apostles.

* That of Drs. Bailie, Prideaux, and Fell, prefixed to his "*Religion of Protestants*," &c.—EDIT.

“For the Epistle ‘of St. James, and those other books which were anciently controverted, and are now received by the church of England as canonical,’ I am so far from relying upon any principles which must, to my apprehension, bring with them the denial of the authority of them, that I myself believe them all to be canonical.

“For the ‘overthrowing the infallibility of all scripture,’ my book is so innocent of it, that the infallibility of scripture is the chiefest of all my grounds.

“And, lastly, for arguments ‘tending to prove an impossibility of all divine, supernatural, infallible faith and religion,’ I assure myself, that if you were ten times more a spider than you are, you could suck no such poison from them. My heart, I am sure, is innocent of any such intention; and the Searcher of all hearts knows that I had no other end in writing this book, but to confirm, to the uttermost of my ability, the truth of the Divine and infallible religion of our dearest Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, which I am ready to seal and confirm, not with my arguments only, but my blood!

“Now, these are the directions,” pursues Mr. Chillingworth,* “which you have been pleased to give me, whether out of a fear that I might otherwise deviate from them, or out of a desire to make others think so: but, howsoever, I have not, to my understanding, swerved from them in any thing; which puts me in good hope that my answer to this first part of your book will give

* “The Religion of Protestants,” &c., pp. 389, 390.

even to you yourself indifferent good satisfaction."

Then he tells him the reasons why he hath not published an answer to the second part of his book.

"I have also provided," says he, "(though this were more than I undertook,) a just and punctual examination and refutation of your second part ; but, if you will give your consent, am resolved to suppress it, and that for divers sufficient and reasonable considerations.

"First. Because the discussion of the controversies entreated of in the first part (if we shall think fit to proceed in it, as I, for my part, shall, so long as I have truth to reply) will, I conceive, be sufficient employment for us, though we cast off the burden of those many lesser disputes which remain behind in the second. And, perhaps, we may do God and his church more service by exactly discussing, and fully clearing, the truth in these few, than by handling many after a slight and perfunctory manner.

"Secondly. Because the addition of the second part, whether for your purpose or mine, is clearly unnecessary ; there being no understanding man, papist or protestant, but will confess, that, (for as much as concerns the main question now in agitation, about the saveableness of protestants,) if the first part of your book be answered, there needs no reply to the second ; as, on the other side, I shall willingly grant, if I have not answered the first, I cannot answer a great part of the second.

"Thirdly. Because the addition of the second part not only is unnecessary, but, in effect, by

yourself confessed to be so : for, in your preamble to your second part, you tell us, that ‘the substance of the present controversy is handled in the first ;’ and therein also you pretend to ‘have answered the chief grounds of Dr. Potter’s book ;’ so that, in replying to your second part, I shall do little else but pursue shadows.

“Fourthly. Because your second part (setting aside repetitions and references) is, in a manner, made up of disputes about particular matters, which you are very importunate to have forborne, as suspecting, at least pretending to suspect, that they ‘were brought in purposely by Dr. Potter to dazzle the reader’s eyes and distract his mind, that he might not see the clearness of the reasons brought in defence of the general doctrine delivered in *Charity mistaken* :’ all which you are likely enough, if there be occasion, to say again to me ; and, therefore, I am resolved for once even to humour you so far, as to keep my discourse within those very lists and limits which yourself have prescribed, and to deal with you upon no other arguments, but only those wherein you conceive your chief advantage and principal strength, and, as it were, your Samson’s lock, to lie ; wherein if I gain the cause clearly from you, (as I verily hope, by God’s help, I shall do,) it cannot but redound much to the honour of the truth maintained by me, which by so weak a champion can overcome such an Achilles for error even in his strongest holds.

“For these reasons, although I have made ready an answer to your second part, and therein have made it sufficiently evident,—that for shift-

ing evasions from Dr. Potter's arguments; for impertinent cavils, and frivolous exceptions, and injurious calumnies against him for his misalleging of authors; for proceeding upon false and ungrounded principles; for making inconsequent and sophistical deductions; and, in a word, for all the virtues of an ill answer, your second part is no way second to the first: yet, notwithstanding all this advantage, I am resolved, if you will give me leave, either wholly to suppress it, or at least to defer the publication of it, until I see what exceptions, upon a twelvemonth's examination, (for so long, I am well assured, you have had it in your hands,) (xxx.,) you can take at this which is now published; that so, if my grounds be discovered false, I may give over building on them; or, if it shall be thought fit, build-on more securely when it shall appear that nothing material and of moment is or can be objected against them. This I say upon a supposition, that yourself will allow these reasons for satisfying and sufficient, and not repent of the motion which yourself has made of reducing the controversy between us to this short issue. But in case your mind be altered, upon the least intimation you shall give me, that you do but desire to have it out, your desire shall prevail with me above all other reasons, and you shall not fail to receive it with all convenient speed." *

At the same time, he desires Mr. Knott to give a previous answer to eleven arguments of Dr. Potter, which he had thought fit to pass by.

* "The Religion of Protestants," &c., pp. 390—392.

"Only that my answer," says he, "may be complete, and that I may have all my work together, and not be troubled myself, nor enforced to trouble you, with after-reckonings, I would first entreat you to make good your promise, of not 'omitting to answer all the particles of Dr. Potter's book which may any way import,' and now at least to take notice of some, as it seems to me, not inconsiderable passages of it, which, between your first and second part, as it were between two stools, have been suffered, hitherto, to fall to the ground, and not been vouchsafed any answer at all." *

He enumerates those passages, and then concludes in these words: "All these parts," says he, "of Dr. Potter's book, for reasons best known to yourself, you have dealt with as the priest and Levite in the Gospel did with the wounded Samaritan, that is, only looked upon them, and passed by: but now, at least, when you are admonished of it, that my reply to your second part (if you desire it) may be perfect, I would entreat you to take them into your consideration, and to make some show of saying something to them, lest otherwise the world should interpret your obstinate silence a plain confession that you can say nothing." †

* Page 392.

† Page 393.

REMARKS.

XXIX.—PAGE 183.

It may seem strange that the same charge should have been so often repeated against him—Before Mr. Knott published his pamphlet, Mr. Lewgar, in his dispute with Mr. Chillingworth,* complained that his arguments against the church of Rome were “merely destructive.” To which Mr. Chillingworth returned the following answer: “You impute to me, as I hear, that the way I take is destructive only, and that I build nothing: which, first, is not a fault; for Christian religion is not now to be built; but only I desire to have the rubbish and impertinent lumber taken off which you have laid upon it, which hides the glorious simplicity of it from them which otherwise would embrace it. Remember, I pray, Averroë’s saying: *Quandoquidem Christiani adorant quod comedunt, sit anima mea cum philosophis*; † and consider the swarms of atheists in Italy; and then tell me, whether your unreasonable and contradictory doctrines, your forged miracles and counterfeit legends, have not, in all probability, produced this effect. Secondly. If it be a fault, it is certainly your own; for your discourse, intended for the proof of a positive conclusion,—‘That we must be papists,’—proves, in deed and in truth, nothing; but, even in show and appearance, no more but this negative,—that we must not be protestants; but what we must be, if we must not be protestants, God knows; you, in this discourse, I am sure, do not show it.” ‡

I do not find that Mr. Lewgar offered any thing against

* See the text, p. 31, *et seq.* † “Since Christians” [the papists among whom he lived] “adore the god which they eat, let my soul be gathered with the philosophers.”—EDIT. ‡ “A Conference betwixt Mr. Chillingworth and Mr. Lewgar,” *ubi supra*, p. 11.

this answer of Mr. Chillingworth, which is, in effect, the same with that he gives now to Mr. Knott. Nor did our Jesuit attempt to reply, though he was pleased to bring, over and over again, the same imputation upon our author. In his pamphlet, entitled, "Christianity maintained," he says, "This man, as the world knows, had warning abundant, in a little treatise, called, 'The Direction,' that he 'should not go a destructive way, tending to the overthrow of all religion, no less than of catholic doctrine.' How little he hath observed it, will appear by the ensuing discourse, penned to the like intent, and to no other than, I dare say, the 'Direction' was, to wit, to prevent, or rather now to discover, Socinianism covertly creeping into this kingdom under the shroud of 'natural reason.'"* And in his large book, printed in 1652, "How can it be denied," says he, "that you proceed in a destructive way, (which in that 'Direction' you were warned to avoid,) who deny Christian religion to be infallibly true? And how can Christian faith be supernatural, if it be only a probable conclusion, evidently deduced from evident probable premises? And I wonder with what face you can say here, 'And, lastly, that the Searcher of all hearts knows, that you had no other end in writing this book, but to confirm the truth of the Divine and infallible religion of our dearest Lord and Saviour Jesus;' seeing you have endeavoured nothing more, through your whole book, than to prove that Christian religion is not infallible?"†

But all this outcry is a downright juggle,‡ and only amounts to this,—that Mr. Chillingworth proceeds in a "destructive way," because he disclaims and destroys the pretended infallibility of the church of Rome, and leaves Christians to their private judgment, and the use of their

* Preface, p. 4. See Remark xxxix., p. 263; Direct. cap. 4, *per totum*. † "Infidelity Unmasked," &c., chap. xvi. p. 948.

‡ See the text, pp. 254—259; and Remark xxxix.

reason, in finding out the sense of the scripture, the only rule of our faith.

Mr. Cressy lays the same charge to our author, and for the very same reason. He observes, that though the English divines strenuously oppose the infallibility of the church of Rome, they are, however, unwilling to enter upon a direct inquiry into, or justification of, the sufficiency of their principle,—that “the scripture is the only rule of faith.” “The experience I have,” says he, “of the particular disposition of English protestants, (properly so called,) and the happiness I have enjoyed in the acquaintance and friendship with very many the most considerable persons for learning, prudence, and piety in that church, gives me warrant to say this of them,—that there is no point of controversy that they are more unwilling to touch upon than this, of ‘scriptures being the only rule, and no visible judge to interpret it;’ I mean, as to the positive maintaining thereof; for, as concerning the disputing against the infallibility of the church, there is none more ready to make objections than they.”* And after having endeavoured to account for it, “Hereupon it is,” says he, “that generally their writers have proceeded the destructive way, willingly undertaking to contradict the church’s infallibility.”†

“In these later times,” pursues he, “since that great, unfortunate champion against the church’s infallibility, Mr. Chillingworth, published his book in defence of Dr. Potter, this guilt of English protestants has been far more conspicuous. His objections against the church (that is, his destructive grounds) are avowed and boasted of as unanswerable, in a manner, by all; but his positive grounds, that is, the making only scripture, and that to be interpreted by every single man’s reason, to be the rule of faith, this is at least waved, if not renounced, by many :

* *Exomologesis*, &c., pp. 134, 135, of the first edition, and pp. 85, 86, of the second.

† *Ibid.*, p. 238, or p. 88.

but most unjustly ; since there is no conceivable means how to find out a third intelligible way of grounding belief, and determining controversies, besides Divine revelation, proposed and interpreted authoritatively by the church, or mere scripture without any obligatory interpretation, as shall be demonstrated hereafter. Hence the general character given of himself and his book is, that ‘he has had better luck in pulling down buildings, than raising new ones ; and that he has managed his sword much more dexterously than his buckler.’ And yet, as if there were no need either of house or buckler, or as if protestants did think themselves secure from weather and danger if catholics were expelled and wounded, no man appears with any design to provide himself of any safer way of defence than that which Mr. Chillingworth has afforded. Yea, Mr. Chillingworth himself (his friends know the reason of it) utterly refused to answer those unconquerable confutations of his positive grounds, and those fearful consequences charged upon them ; * being satisfied, or at least making a countenance (before those that knew him not inwardly) that he was satisfied, of the firmness of his rule of faith, as long as an exact, particular answer to all his objections against the church’s infallibility was not published. Those who have had a particular acquaintance with that extraordinary sublime wit and judgment, will, or at least can, witness with me, that thus much as I have said, in a seeming censure of him, is true.” †

Thus we see Mr. Chillingworth charged with “having better luck in pulling down buildings, than raising new ones ;” only because he pulled down and confuted the infallibility of the church of Rome. To which we may apply his above-mentioned answer to Mr. Lewgar : “You impute to me,” says he, “that the way I take is destruct-

* Mr. Cressy means two or three pamphlets, whereof an account shall be given hereafter. † *Exomologesis*, pp. 139—141, or, pp. 88—90.

ive only, and that I build nothing : which, first, is not a fault ; for Christian religion is not now to be built ; but only I desire to have the rubbish and impertinent lumber taken off, which you have laid upon it, which hides the glorious simplicity of it from them which otherwise would embrace it."

And this calls to my mind an ingenious saying of General Wurta, reported by Mr. de St. Evremond : "When men have once taken out of Christianity what they have foisted into it, there will be but one religion, as plain in its doctrine as pure in its morals." *

The learned Mr. Poole hath very judiciously answered the foregoing passage of Mr. Cressy. "Mr. Cressy," says he, "takes notice of Mr. Chillingworth and his book, that he was 'better in pulling down buildings, than raising new ones ; and that he hath managed his sword much more dexterously than his buckler ;' and that protestants do neither own and defend the positive grounds which Chillingworth laid, nor provide themselves of any safer defence.

"To which," says Mr. Poole, "it might suffice in general to reply,—that if once the grounds of their [the Romish] faith be demolished, and their great pretensions of supreme and infallible authority subverted ; if it be proved, that neither the pope, nor councils, nor church of Rome, be infallible ; then the protestants' churches at least stand upon even ground with the church of Rome ; and whatsoever they can reasonably pretend for the establishing of their faith, will tend to the securing of ours ; and if protestants have no solid and sufficient foundation for their belief, neither have the papists any better ; and then one of these two things will follow : Either that scripture, reason, and the concurring testimony of former ages, and churches, and fathers, are a firm basis for a Christian's

* The Works of Mr. de St. Evremond, &c., vol. ii. p. 168.

faith, independently upon the church's authority and infallibility ; (and this is a certain truth, though utterly destructive to the church of Rome ;) Or else, (which I tremble to speak, and yet these desperate persons are not afraid to assert,) that the Christian faith hath no solid ground to rest upon ; I mean, without the church's infallible authority, which is now supposed to be discarded and disproved. Now, here it must be confessed, that some protestants express themselves too unwarily in the point, whereby they give the adversary some seeming advantage," &c.*

The same charge against Mr. Chillingworth hath been lately revived by Dr. Hare, as we shall see in another place.†

XXX.—PAGE 188.

Until I see what exceptions, upon a twelvemonth's examination, (for so long, I am well assured, you have had my book in your hands,) you can take, &c.—Mr. Chillingworth hath the same thing in his preface : "For though," says he,‡ "by some crooked and sinister arts, you have got my answer into your hands, now a year since and upwards, as I have been assured by some that profess to know it, and those of your own party," &c.§ So that they were Roman catholics from whom he had this information. However, Mr. Knott denies the fact to be true, in his large book. "For conclusion of my book," says he, "I disposed myself to give a particular answer to the conclusion of yours, wherein you are not ashamed to say, that Ch. Ma. || had in his hands your book twelve months before it was published ; which, upon my certain knowledge, is most

* "The Nullity of the Romish Faith, &c.: with an Appendix, tending to the Demonstration of the Solidity of the Protestant Faith," &c., in the Appendix, p. 36. Fourth Edition. 8vo. Oxford, 1671.

† See Remark xxxi., p. 212.

‡ "The Preface," &c., sect. 4.

§ See the text, p. 130.

|| That is, "Charity maintained;" or rather the author of it, Mr. Knott.

untrue : but, upon careful examination thereof, I find that labour to be needless." * But we must remember, that Mr. Knott speaks thus confidently in a book published in 1652, nine years after the death of Mr. Chillingworth.†

* "Infidelity Unmasked," &c., p. 948.
XXXVIII.

† See Remark

XII. THE PRINCIPLES, STYLE, AND MODE OF
ARGUING ADOPTED BY CHILLINGWORTH IN
HIS "RELIGION OF PROTESTANTS," &c.
COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM THAT WORK.

HAVING now given an account of the historical, or rather personal, part of Mr. Chillingworth's book, it may be expected I should say something of the book itself.

And, first, I must observe, that as writers frequently complain (and often not without reason) that their adversaries have misrepresented their arguments, or misreported their expressions ; our author, to show he had kept himself free from such an imputation, reprinted the first part of Mr. Knott's book entire in his answer : and the Jesuit having divided it into seven chapters, he subjoined a distinct and separate answer to each chapter, and likewise to the preface.

Now, as to the subject of the book, or the principles Mr. Chillingworth goes upon, they are suitable to his design, which, he declares in several places, is to vindicate, not any one particular communion of protestants, but the protestants in

general, from the aspersions and calumnies of the Jesuit. Accordingly, he asserts, in his first chapter, that "papists are uncharitable in condemning protestants;" in the second, that "the scripture is the only rule whereby to judge of controversies;" third, that "no church of one denomination is infallible;" fourth, that "the Creed of the apostles contains all necessary points of mere belief;" fifth, that "the religion of protestants is a safer way to salvation than the religion of papists;" sixth, that "protestants are not heretics;" and, seventh, that they "are not bound, by the charity which they owe to themselves, to re-unite themselves to the Roman church."

And this might be sufficient to give a notion of our author's principles. However, I shall, for the further satisfaction of the reader, set down here some few passages, as a specimen of his clear and masterly way of treating the matters before him.

What Mr. Chillingworth understands by "the religion of protestants," he expresses thus: "When I say, the religion of protestants is, in prudence, to be preferred before yours; as, on the one side, I do not understand by your religion the doctrine of Bellarmine, or Baronius, or any other private man amongst you, nor the doctrine of the Sorbonne, or of the Jesuits, or of the Dominicans, or of any other particular company among you, but that wherein you all agree, or profess to agree,—the doctrine of the Council of Trent; so, accordingly, on the other side, by the 'religion of protestants,' I do not understand the doctrine of Luther, or Calvin, or Melancthon; nor the Confession of Augusta, or Geneva; nor the Catechism of Hei-

delberg, nor the Articles of the church of England, no, nor the Harmony of Protestant Confessions ; but that wherein they all agree, and which they all subscribe with a greater harmony, as a perfect rule of their faith and actions, that is, the Bible. ‘The Bible,’ I say, ‘the Bible only, is the religion of protestants.’ (xxxI.)* Whatsoever else they believe besides it, and the plain, irrefragable, indubitable consequences of it, well may they hold it as a matter of opinion ; but, as matter of faith and religion, neither can they, with coherence to their own grounds, believe it themselves, nor require the belief of it of others, without most high and most schismatical presumption. I, for my part,” adds he, “after a long and, as I verily believe and hope, impartial search of the true way to eternal happiness, do profess plainly, that I cannot find any rest for the sole of my foot, but upon this rock only. I see plainly, and with mine own eyes, that there are popes against popes, councils against councils, some fathers against others, the same fathers against themselves, a consent of fathers of one age against a consent of fathers of another age, the church of one age against the church of another age. Traditive interpretations of scripture are pretended ; but there are few or none to be found. No tradition, but only of scripture, can derive itself from the fountain, but may be plainly proved either to have been brought in in such an age after Christ, or that in such an age it was not in. In a word, there is no sufficient certainty, but of scripture

* See Remark xxxI. at the end of this section, p. 200.

only, for any considering man to build upon. This, therefore, and this only, I have reason to believe; this I will profess; according to this I will live; and for this, if there be occasion, I will not only willingly, but even gladly, lose my life, though I should be sorry that Christians should take it from me. Propose me any thing out of this book, and require whether I believe it or no, and, seem it never so incomprehensible to human reason, I will subscribe it with hand and heart, as knowing no demonstration can be stronger than this,—‘God hath said so, therefore it is true.’ In other things I will take no man’s liberty of judgment from him, neither shall any man take mine from me. I will think no man the worse man nor the worse Christian, I will love no man the less, for differing in opinion from me. And what measure I mete to others, I expect from them again. I am fully assured that God does not, and, therefore, that men ought not to, require any more of any man than this,—to believe the scripture to be God’s word, to endeavour to find the true sense of it, and to live according to it.

“This is,” pursues he, “the religion I have chosen, after a long deliberation; and I am verily persuaded that I have chosen wisely, much more wisely than if I had guided myself according to your church’s authority: for the scripture being all true, I am secured, by believing nothing else, that I shall believe no falsehood as matter of faith. And if I mistake the sense of scripture, and so fall into error, yet am I secure from any danger thereby, if but your grounds be true; because, endeavouring to find the true sense of scripture,

I cannot but hold my error without pertinacy, and be ready to forsake it when a more true and a more probable sense shall appear unto me : and then, all necessary truth being, as I have proved, plainly set down in scripture, I am certain, by believing scripture, to believe all necessary truth : and he that does so, if his life be answerable to his faith, how is it possible he should fail of salvation ? ” *

Mr. Knott urged some arguments to prove the necessity of a visible judge of controversies ; and, among other things, objected, that in civil societies it is “ very necessary that, besides the law-maker speaking in the law, there should be other judges to determine civil and criminal controversies, and to give every man that justice which the law allows him : ” Mr. Chillingworth grants it ; but, at the same time, observes, that the argument his adversary draws from hence, to show the necessity of a visible judge in controversies of religion, is sophistical. (xxxii.)

Mr. Knott having put this question in his preface, “ How can Lutherans, Calvinists, Zuinglians, and all the rest of disagreeing protestants, hope for salvation, since some of them must needs err against some truth testified by God ? ” our author answers thus : “ The most disagreeing protestants that are,” says he, “ yet thus so far agree : 1. That these books of scripture, which were never doubted of in the church, are the undoubted word of God, and a perfect rule of faith. 2. That the

* “ The Religion of Protestants,” &c., chap. vi. sect. 56, 57.

sense of them which God intended, whatsoever it is, is certainly true. So that they believe implicitly even those very truths against which they err ; and why an implicit faith in Christ and his word should not suffice as well as an implicit faith in your church, I have desired to be resolved by many of your side, but never could. 3. That they are to use their best endeavours to believe the scripture in the true sense, and to live according to it. This if they perform (as I hope many on all sides do) truly and sincerely, it is impossible but that they should believe aright in all things necessary to salvation ; that is, in all those things which appertain to the covenant between God and man in Christ ; for so much is not only plainly but frequently contained in scripture. (XXXIII.) And believing aright touching the covenant, if they for their parts perform the condition required of them, which is sincere obedience, why should they not expect that God will perform his promise, and give them salvation ? For, as for other things which lie without the covenant, and are therefore less necessary, if by reason of the seeming conflict which is oftentimes between scripture, and reason, and authority on the one side, and scripture, reason, and authority on the other ; if, by reason of the variety of tempers, abilities, educations, and unavoidable prejudices, whereby men's understandings are variously formed and fashioned, they do embrace several opinions, whereof some must be erroneous ; to say that God will damn them for such errors, who are lovers of him, and lovers of truth, is to rob man of his comfort, and God of his goodness ; is to make man desperate,

and God a tyrant. 'But they deny truths testified by God, and therefore shall be damned.' Yes, if they knew them to be thus testified by him, and yet would deny them; THAT were to give God the lie, and questionless damnable. But if you should deny a truth which God had testified but only to a man in the Indies, as I said before, and this testification you had never heard of, or at least had no sufficient reason to believe that God had so testified, would not you think it a hard case to be damned for such a denial? Yet consider, I pray, a little more attentively the difference between them, and you will presently acknowledge, the question between them is not at any time, or in any thing, whether God says true or no, or whether he says this or no; but supposing he says this, and says true, whether he means this or no? As for example: between Lutherans, Calvinists, and Zuinglians, it is agreed that Christ spake these words, 'This is my body;' and that whatsoever he meant in saying so is true; but what he meant and how he is to be understood, that is the question. So that though some of them deny a truth by God intended, yet you can with no reason or justice accuse them of denying the truth of God's testimony, unless you can plainly show that God hath declared, and that plainly and clearly, what was his meaning in these words. I say, 'plainly and clearly;' for he that speaks obscurely and ambiguously, and no where declares himself plainly, sure he hath no reason to be much offended if he be mistaken. When therefore you can show, that, in this and all other their controversies, God hath interposed his testimony

on one side or other ; so that either they do see it, and will not ; or, were it not for their own voluntary and avoidable fault, might and should see it, and do not ; let all such errors be as damnable as you please to make them. In the mean while, if they suffer themselves neither to be betrayed into their errors, nor kept in them, by any sin of their will ; if they do their best endeavour to free themselves from all errors, and yet fail of it through human frailty ; so well am I persuaded of the goodness of God, that if in me alone should meet a confluence of all such errors of all the protestants in the world, that were thus qualified, I should not be so much afraid of them all, as I should be to ask pardon for them," &c. *

Dr. Potter had asserted, that " the Creed of the apostles is a sufficient summary or catalogue of fundamentals ;" whereupon our Jesuit objected, that " Because not to believe the articles of the Creed in the true sense, is damnable ; therefore it is frivolous to say, ' The Creed contains all fundamentals,' without specifying in what sense the articles of it are fundamental ;" to which Mr. Chillingworth returns the following answer : " I answer," says he, " that you find fault with Dr. Potter for his virtues ;—you are offended with him for not usurping the authority which he hath not ; in a word, for not playing the pope. Certainly, if protestants be faulty in this matter, it is for doing it too much, and not too little. This presumptuous imposing of the senses of men upon the words of God,—the special senses of men

* " The Answer to the Preface," sect. 26.

upon the general words of God,—and laying them upon men's consciences together, under the equal penalty of death and damnation ; this vain conceit, that we can speak of the things of God better than in the word of God ; this deifying our own interpretations, and tyrannous enforcing them upon others ; this restraining of the word of God from that latitude and generality, and the understandings of men from that liberty, wherein Christ and the apostles left them ;—is, and hath been, the only fountain of all the schisms of the church, and that which makes them immortal ; * the common incendiary of Christendom, and that which (as I said before) tears into pieces, not the coat, but the bowels and members, of Christ : *Ridente Turcæ, nec dolente Judæo*.† Take away these walls of separation, and all will quickly be one : take away this persecuting, burning, cursing, damning, of men, for not subscribing to the words of men, as the words of God ; require of Christians only to believe Christ, and to call no man master but him only : let those leave claiming infallibility that have no title to it ; and let them that in their words disclaim it, disclaim it likewise in their actions : in a word, take away tyranny ;—which is the devil's instrument to support errors, and superstitions, and impieties, in the several

“ * This persuasion is no singularity of mine, but the doctrine which I have learned from divines of great learning and judgment. Let the reader be pleased to peruse the seventh book of ACONTIUS, *De Stratagem. Satanæ* ; and ZANCHIUS's last ‘Oration,’ delivered by him after the composing of the discord between him and Amerbachius ; and he shall confess as much.”

† “ While the Turk is delighted, and the Jew does not weep.”—EDIT.

parts of the world, which could not otherwise long withstand the power of truth ;—I say, take away tyranny, and restore Christians to their just and full liberty of captivating their understanding to scripture only : and as rivers, when they have a free passage, run all to the ocean, so it may well be hoped, by God's blessing, that universal liberty, thus moderated, may quickly reduce Christendom to truth and unity. These thoughts of peace, I am persuaded, may come from the God of peace ; and to his blessing I commend them." *

Mr. Knott, speaking of Luther and our Reformers, said, that they "endeavoured to force the society, whereof they were parts, to be healed and reformed as they were ; and if it refused, they did, when they had power, drive them away, even their superiors both spiritual and temporal, as is notorious." But, this being but a bare assertion, "the proofs hereof," says Mr. Chillingworth, "are wanting, and, therefore, I might defer my answer until they were produced ; yet take this beforehand : If they did so, then herein, in my opinion, they did amiss ; for I have learnt from the ancient fathers of the church, that 'nothing is more against religion than to force religion ;' and of St. Paul, 'The weapons of the Christian warfare are not carnal.' And great reason ; for human violence may make men counterfeit, but cannot make them believe, and is therefore fit for nothing but to breed form without and atheism within. Besides, if this means of bringing men to embrace any religion were generally used, (as if it may be

* "The Religion of Protestants," &c., chap. iv. sect. 16.

justly used in any place by those that have power, and think they have truth, certainly they cannot, with reason, deny but that it may be used in every place, by those that have power as well as they, and think they have truth as well as they,) what could follow but the maintenance perhaps of truth, but, perhaps, only of the profession of it in one place, and the oppression of it in a hundred? What will follow from it but the preservation peradventure of unity, but peradventure only of uniformity, in particular states and churches; but the immortalizing the greater and more lamentable divisions of Christendom and the world? And, therefore, what can follow from it but perhaps, in the judgment of carnal policy, the temporal benefit and tranquillity of temporal states and kingdoms; but the infinite prejudice, if not the desolation, of the kingdom of Christ? And, therefore, it well becomes them who have their portions in this life, who serve no higher state than that of England, or Spain, or France, nor this neither any further than they may serve themselves by it; who think of no other happiness but the preservation of their own fortunes and tranquillity in this world; who think of no other means to preserve states but human power and Machiavillian policy; and believe no other creed but this, *Regi aut civitati imperium habenti nihil injustum, quod utile*: * Such men as these it may become to maintain, by worldly power and violence, their state-instrument, religion; for if all be vain and false, (as, in their

* "To a king, city, or state, that is in possession of the supreme power, nothing is unjust which is profitable."—EDRT.

judgment, it is,) the present, whatsoever, is better than any, because it is already settled ; and alteration of it may draw with it change of states, and the change of state the subversion of their fortune. But they that are indeed servants and lovers of Christ, of truth, of the church, and of mankind, ought with all courage to oppose themselves against it, as a common enemy of all these. They that know there is a King of kings and Lord of lords, by whose will and pleasure kings and kingdoms stand and fall, they know, that ‘to no king or state any thing can be profitable which is unjust ;’ and that nothing can be more evidently unjust than to force weak men, by the profession of a religion which they believe not, to lose their own eternal happiness, out of a vain and needless fear lest they may possibly disturb their temporal quietness ; there being no danger to any state from any man’s opinion, unless it be such an opinion by which disobedience to authority or impiety is taught or licensed ; (which sort, I confess, may justly be punished as well as other faults ;) or unless this sanguinary doctrine be joined with it, that ‘it is lawful for him, by human violence, to enforce others to it.’ Therefore, if protestants did offer violence to other men’s consciences, and compel them to embrace their Reformation, I excuse them not ; much less if they did so to the sacred persons of kings, and those that were in authority over them, who ought to be so secured from violence, that even their unjust and tyrannous violence, though it may be avoided, (according to that of our Saviour, ‘When they persecute you in one city, flee into another,’) yet may it not

be resisted by opposing violence against it. Protestants, therefore, that were guilty of this crime, are not to be excused ; and blessed had they been, had they chosen rather to be martyrs than murderers, and to die for their religion rather than to fight for it."

Then he shows how impertinent and ridiculous was such an accusation, in the mouth of a papist. "But, of all the men in the world," says he, "you are most unfit to accuse them hereof, against whom the souls of the martyrs from under the altar cry much louder than against all their other persecutors together ; who, for these many ages together, have daily sacrificed hecatombs of innocent Christians, under the name of heretics, to your blind zeal and furious superstition ; who teach plainly, that you may propagate your religion whensoever you have power, by deposing of kings and invasion of kingdoms, and think, when you kill the adversaries of it, you do God good service. But, for their departing corporally from them whom mentally they had forsaken ; for their forsaking the external communion and company of the unreformed part of the church, in their superstitions and impieties ; thus much of your accusation we embrace, and glory in it ; and say, though some protestants might offend in the manner or degree of their separation, yet certainly their separation itself was not schismatical, but innocent, and not only so, but just and necessary." *

* "The Religion of Protestants," &c., chap. v, sect. 96.

REMARKS.

XXXL—PAGE 198.

"The Bible," I say, "the Bible only, is the religion of protestants"—What Mr. Chillingworth adds by way of illustration or consequence; namely, "Whatsoever else they believe besides it, and the plain, irrefragable, indubitable consequences of it, well may they hold it as a matter of opinion; but, as matter of faith and religion, neither can they, with coherence to their own grounds, believe it themselves, nor require the belief of it of others, without most high and schismatical presumption;"—this assertion, I say, is perfectly agreeable to the sense of the church of England concerning the sufficiency of the holy scripture, as it appears by the sixth Article of Religion, which declares, that the "holy scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may not be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." And as all protestants agree in this with the church of England, Mr. Chillingworth very justly affirms, that "the Bible only is the religion of protestants." The Bible is the centre of unity of the protestants, as the pope is the centre of unity of the papists. And, therefore, this principle of Mr. Chillingworth is universally received and acknowledged by the protestants.

However, Mr. Cressy is pleased to represent it as one of the "novelties" which Mr. Chillingworth hath introduced amongst them.* "His second novelty," says he, "is, that whereas the protestants always professed, that the public confessions of their church's faith was indeed their own faith, that is, such expressions plain and indubitable as are

* See Remark xxviii., p. 175.

in holy scripture concerning such points, or at least irrefragable consequences from scripture, and, therefore, were to them as scripture, because their sense of scripture ; and whereas they respectively divided themselves from the communion of the catholic and other particular churches, because they would not join with them in the belief of scripture, explained in that sense which their several Articles import, and not because they refused to submit to scripture, which all profess to do ; and, lastly, whereas though they acknowledged scripture to be the only rule of faith, yet, because it not having been written in form of Institutions, or a Catechism, the necessary doctrines of religion are dispersed uncertainly in the several books, difficultly to be found out of them, and withal not so plainly delivered but that there is need of explication and conciliation with other passages of scripture that seem to contradict : For this reason, each church compiled abridgments and Confessions, disposed orderly and methodically, by which they signify to the world how they understand scripture. Mr. Chillingworth, on the contrary, delivers their mind jointly for them, after a new way, (which is his second novelty,) which I will set down in his own words : ‘ By *the religion of protestants*, I do not,’ saith he, ‘ understand the doctrine of Luther, or Calvin, or Melancthon ; nor the Confession of Augusta, or Geneva ; nor the Catechism of Heidelberg ; nor the Articles of the church of England ; no, nor the Harmony of protestant Confessions ; but that wherein they all agree, and which they all subscribe with a greater harmony, as a perfect rule of their faith and actions, that is, the Bible. *The Bible*, I say, *the Bible only, is the religion of protestants*. Whatsoever else they believe besides it, and the plain, irrefragable, indubitable consequences of it, well may they hold it as a matter of opinion ; but, as a matter of faith and religion, neither can they, with coherence to their own grounds, believe it themselves, nor require the belief of it of others, without

most high and most schismatical presumption.’* Thus far Mr. Chillingworth. Now, how far other protestants, out of England,” pursues Mr. Cressy, “will approve of this new shift which he has found out for them, and which, I am sure, he has published without any commission from them, I know not ; but if they also justify him in this, all I can say is, that they will make their party much the stronger by it, and will likewise have reason to pretend to almost primitive antiquity ; for if all be of their body who, whatsoever their particular tenets be, build their faith upon only scripture interpreted by each man’s reason, then not only all heretics of these times, but, likewise, almost all heretics since the apostles’ time, will be united in the same corporation.” †

To which I answer, 1. That Mr. Chillingworth’s “way” is, in reality, no “new way,” or no “novelty.” For, though protestants have drawn up Confessions of Faith, or Articles of Religion, as their respective sense of the scripture, and have digested them into the form of Institutions and Catechisms ; yet, in all their Confessions or Articles, they declare that the scripture is the only rule of faith, by which those Confessions themselves are to be tried ; and, therefore, Mr. Chillingworth, setting up the Bible as the religion of protestants, says no more than all protestants acknowledge.

2. As to Mr. Cressy’s objection ; namely, that Mr. Chillingworth “unites the heretics of all ages in the same corporation ;” it amounts only to this,—that all persons or communions that acknowledge no rule of faith but the scripture, are, in Mr. Cressy’s opinion, heretics ; that is, not papists ; and that, if they mistake the sense of the best rule Christians can have, this may be justly imputed to them as a crime. But, then, must we therefore submit to the pope’s fallible authority, and lay aside the scripture,

* Chap. vi. par. 56.
or, pp. 297—299.

† *Exomologesis*, &c., pp. 406—408,

or make it subservient to the pope's decrees, because some Christians have misunderstood it? Have those sacred writings lost any thing of their perfection and sufficiency, are they no longer a perfect, infallible rule of our faith, because some men have mistaken their meaning? To argue against the right use of a thing, from the ill use some have made of it, is a sophistical way of reasoning noted by all the logicians.

And here I am sorry to find one of our most celebrated divines making the same objections with Mr. Cressy. "As to Mr. Chillingworth," says Dr. Hare, "he is confessedly an excellent writer; but it may, I think, with great truth be said, that he was much abler at pulling down than building up; towards which little can be expected of a man who is, by his own arguments, pushed so home in the defence he would make of protestantism, that he hath nothing left but to cry out, '*The Bible: the Bible, I say, the Bible, is the religion of protestants!*' and so say all the heretics and schismatics that ever were." *

Dr. Hare's first assertion, that Mr. Chillingworth "was much abler at pulling down than building up," hath been, I think, sufficiently examined in another place.† This he imputes to Mr. Chillingworth's declaring, that "the Bible only is the religion of protestants:" as if the removing the rubbish, with which wanton or wicked men had almost buried the edifice of Christianity, were pulling down the edifice itself! The doctor next intimates, that Mr. Chillingworth, not being able to defend the protestant religion otherwise, was forced to retreat to the scripture, the usual shift and resort of all heretics and schismatics. But have heretics and schismatics nothing in common with other men which is good? or doth any thing lose its good qualities the instant they make use of it? Is reason

* "Scripture vindicated from the Objections of the Lord Bishop of Bangor," &c., preface, p. xxxi. † See Remark xxix., p. 190; and Appendix, Remark Lxii.

no longer the rule of human actions, because all men appeal to it, and weak or mad men pretend to be governed by it? Or ought the scripture to cease to be the religion of protestants, because heretics and schismatics say, likewise, that it is agreeable to their notions? And since protestants utterly deny the infallibility of the church of Rome, as well as of councils, fathers, and tradition, and do not pretend themselves to any infallible authority, what have they left for the foundation of their faith, but the infallible authority of the scripture? Therefore, they, as well as Mr. Chillingworth, are reduced to the Bible, and must cry out, with him, "The Bible, the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants."

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Mr. Chillingworth shows that the argument his adversary draws from hence is sophistical—"The law-maker," says he, "'speaking in the law,' I grant it, 'is no more easily understood than the law itself;' for his speech is nothing else but the law: I grant it 'very necessary that, besides the law-maker speaking in the law, there should be other judges to determine civil and criminal controversies, and to give every man that justice which the law allows him.' But your argument, drawn from hence, to show a necessity of a visible judge in controversies of religion, I say, is sophistical, and that for many reasons:—

"First. Because the variety of civil cases is infinite; and, therefore, there cannot be possibly laws enough provided for the determination of them; and, therefore, there must be a judge to supply, out of the principles of reason, the interpretation of the law, where it is defective. But the scripture, we say, is a perfect rule of faith; and, therefore, needs no supply of the defects of it.

"Secondly. To execute the letter of the law, according to rigour, would be many times unjust; and, therefore,

there is need of a judge to moderate it ; whereof in religion there is no use at all.

“ Thirdly. In civil and criminal causes, the parties have, for the most part, so much interest, and very often so little honesty, that they will not submit to a law, though never so plain, if it be against them ; or will not see it to be against them, though it be so never so plainly : whereas, if men were honest, and the law were plain, and extended to all cases, there would be little need of judges. Now, in matters of religion, when the question is, whether every man be a fit judge and chooser for himself, we suppose men honest, and such as understand the difference between a moment and eternity. And such men, we conceive, will think it highly concerns them to be of the true religion ; but nothing at all, that this or that religion should be the true. And then we suppose, that all the necessary points of religion are plain and easy, and, consequently, every man in this cause to be a competent judge for himself, because it concerns himself to judge right as much as eternal happiness is worth ; and if, through his own default, he judge amiss, he alone shall suffer for it.

“ Fourthly. In civil controversies, we are obliged only to external passive obedience, and not to an internal and active : we are bound to obey the sentence of the judge, or not to resist it, but not always to believe it just. But in matters of religion, such a judge is required whom we should be obliged to believe to have judged right. So that, in civil controversies, every honest, understanding man is fit to be a judge ; but in religion, none but he that is infallible.

“ Fifthly. In civil causes, there is means and power, when the judge hath decreed, to compel men to obey his sentence ; otherwise, I believe, laws alone would be to as much purpose for the ending of differences as laws and judges both. But all the power in the world is neither fit to convince, nor able to compel, a man's conscience to

consent to any thing. Worldly terror may prevail so far as to make men profess a religion which they believe not ; (such men, I mean, who know not that there is a heaven provided for martyrs, and a hell for those that dissemble such truths as are necessary to be professed ;) but to force either any man to believe what he believes not, or any honest man to dissemble what he does believe, if God commands him to profess it, or to profess what he does not believe, all the powers in the world are too weak, with all the powers of hell to assist them.

“Sixthly. In civil controversies, the case cannot be so put but there may be a judge to end it who is not a party ; in controversies of religion, it is in a manner impossible to be avoided but the judge must be a party : for this must be the first, whether he be a judge or no, and in that he must be a party. Sure I am, the pope, in the controversies of our time, is a chief party ; for it highly concerns him, even as much as his popedom is worth, not to yield any one point of his religion to be erroneous. And he is a man subject to like passions with other men ; and, therefore, we may justly decline his sentence, for fear temporal respects should either blind his judgment, or make him pronounce against it.

“Seventhly. In civil controversies, it is impossible Titius should hold the land in question, and Sempronius too ; and, therefore, either the plaintiff must injure the defendant, by disquieting his possession, or the defendant wrong the plaintiff, by keeping his right from him. But in controversies of religion, the case is otherwise : I may hold my opinion, and do you no wrong, and you yours, and do me none ; nay, we may both of us hold our opinion, and yet do ourselves no harm ; provided the difference be not touching any thing necessary to salvation, and that we love truth so well as to be diligent to inform our conscience, and constant in following it.

“Eighthly. For the deciding of civil controversies, men

may appoint themselves a judge : but in matters of religion, this office may be given to none but whom God hath designed for it ; who doth not always give us those things which we conceive most expedient for ourselves.

“Ninthly and lastly. For the ending of civil controversies, who does not see it is absolutely necessary, that not only judges should be appointed, but that it should be known and unquestioned who they are? Thus, all the judges of our land are known men, known to be judges, and no man can doubt or question but these are the men : otherwise, if it were a disputable thing who were these judges, and they had no certain warrant for their authority, but only some topical congruities, would not any man say, such judges, in all likelihood, would rather multiply controversies than end them? So likewise, if our Saviour, the King of heaven, had intended that all controversies in religion should be by some visible judge finally determined, who can doubt but in plain terms he would have expressed himself about this matter? He would have said plainly, ‘The bishop of Rome I have appointed to decide all emergent controversies.’ For that our Saviour designed the bishop of Rome to this office, and yet would not say so, nor cause it to be written *ad rei memoriam*,* by any of the evangelists or apostles, so much as once, but leave it to be drawn out of uncertain principles, by thirteen or fourteen more uncertain consequences, he that can believe it, let him.

“All these reasons, I hope, will convince you, that, though we have, and have great necessity of, judges in civil and criminal causes ; yet you may not conclude from thence, that there is any public authorized judge to determine controversies in religion, nor any necessity there should be any.” †

* “In memory of such appointment.”—EDIT.
Religion of Protestants,” &c., chap. ii. sect. 13—23.

† “The

XXXIII.—PAGE 201.

All those things which appertain to the covenant between God and man in Christ, are not only plainly but frequently contained in scripture—Mr. Knott having animadverted upon archbishop Usher, for saying, that “in those propositions which, without all controversy, are universally received in the whole Christian world, so much truth is contained, as, being joined with holy obedience, may be sufficient to bring a man to everlasting salvation ; neither have we cause to doubt, but that ‘as many as walk according to this rule,’ neither overthrowing that which they have builded, by superinducing any damnable heresies thereupon, nor otherwise vitiating their holy faith with a lewd and wicked conversation, ‘peace shall be upon them, and upon the Israel of God ;’” Mr. Chillingworth answers, among other things, that “the saying of that most learned prelate and excellent man, the archbishop of Armagh, is as great and as good a truth, and as necessary for these miserable times, as possibly can be uttered. For this is most certain, and, I believe, you will easily grant it,—that to reduce Christians to unity of communion, there are but two ways that may be conceived probable : the one, by taking away diversity of opinions touching matters of religion ; the other, by showing that the diversity of opinions which is among the several sects of Christians, ought to be no hinderance to their unity in communion.

“Now, the former of these is not to be hoped for without a miracle, unless that could be done which is impossible to be performed, though it be often pretended ; that is, unless it could be made evident to all men, that God hath appointed some visible judge of controversies, to whose judgment all men are to submit themselves. What then remains, but that the other way must be taken, and Christians must be taught to set a higher value upon these high points of faith and obedience wherein they agree, than

upon these matters of less moment wherein they differ ; and understand, that agreement in those ought to be more effectual to join them in one communion, than their difference in other things of less moment to divide them ? When I say, 'in one communion,' I mean, in a common profession of those articles of faith wherein all consent, a joint worship of God after such a way as all esteem lawful, and a mutual performance of all those works of charity which Christians owe one to another. And to such a communion what better inducement could be thought of than to demonstrate, that what was universally believed of all Christians, if it were joined with a love of truth and with holy obedience, was sufficient to bring men to heaven ? For why should men be more rigid than God ? Why should any error exclude any man from the church's communion, which will not deprive him of eternal salvation ? Now, that Christians do generally agree in all those points of doctrine which are necessary to salvation, it is apparent, because they agree with one accord in believing all those books of the Old and New Testament, which in the church were never doubted of to be the undoubted word of God. And it is so certain, that in all these books all necessary doctrines are evidently contained, that, of all the four evangelists, this is very probable, but of St. Luke most apparent, that in every one of their books they have comprehended the whole substance of the gospel of Christ. For what reason can be imagined, that any of them should leave out any thing which he knew to be necessary, and yet (as apparently all of them have done) put in many things which they knew to be only profitable and not necessary ? What wise and honest man that were now to write the gospel of Christ, would do so great a work of God after such a negligent fashion ? Suppose Xaverius had been to write the gospel of Christ for the Indians : think you he would have left out any fundamental doctrine of it ? If not, I must beseech you to conceive as well

of St. Matthew, and St. Mark, and St. Luke, and St. John, as you do of Xaverius. Besides, if every one of them have not in them all necessary doctrines, how have they complied with their own design? which was, as the titles of their books show, to write 'the gospel of Christ,' and not a part of it. Or how have they not deceived us, in giving them such titles? By 'the whole gospel of Christ,' I understand, not the whole history of Christ, but all that makes up the covenant between God and man. Now, if this be wholly contained in the Gospel of St. Mark and St. John, I believe every considering man will be inclinable to believe, that then, without doubt, it is contained, with the advantage of many other very profitable things, in the larger Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke." *

He shows, afterwards, that "all that makes up the covenant between God and man, is wholly contained in either of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. John;" and proceeds thus :—

"This which hath been spoken, I hope, is enough to justify my undertaking to the full, that it is very probable that every one of the four evangelists hath in his book the whole substance, all the necessary parts, of the gospel of Christ. But for St. Luke, that he hath written such a perfect gospel, in my judgment, it ought to be, with them that believe him, no manner of question. Consider, first, the introduction to his Gospel, where he declares what he intends to write, in these words: 'Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed amongst us, even as they delivered unto us, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses, and ministers of the word; it seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of things from the first, to write to thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty of those

* "The Religion of Protestants," &c., chap. iv. sect. 39, 40.

things wherein thou hast been instructed.' Add to this place, the entrance to his history of the Acts of the Apostles : 'The former treatise have I made, O Theophilus, of all that Jesus began both to do and teach, until the day in which he was taken up.' Weigh well these two places, and then answer me freely and ingenuously to these demands : 1. Whether St. Luke doth not undertake the very same thing which, he says, 'many had taken in hand?' 2. Whether this were not 'to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed amongst Christians?' 3. Whether the whole gospel of Christ, and every necessary doctrine of it, were not surely believed among Christians? 4. Whether they which were 'eye-witnesses and ministers of the word from the beginning,' delivered not the whole gospel of Christ? 5. Whether he doth not undertake to write in order these things 'whereof he had perfect understanding from the first? 6. Whether he had not perfect understanding of the whole gospel of Christ? 7. Whether he doth not undertake to write to Theophilus of all those things 'wherein he had been instructed?' 8. And whether he had not been instructed in all the necessary parts of the gospel of Christ? 9. Whether in the other text, 'All things which Jesus began to do and teach,' must not at least imply all the principal and necessary things? 10. Whether this be not the very interpretation of your Rhemish doctors, in their annotation upon this place? 11. Whether all these articles of the Christian faith, without the belief whereof no man can be saved, be not the principal and most necessary things which Jesus taught? 12. And lastly, whether many things which St. Luke hath wrote in his Gospel, be not less principal and less necessary than all and every one of these? When you have well considered these proposals, I believe you will be very apt to think, (if St. Luke be of credit with you,) that all things necessary to salvation are certainly contained in his writings alone. And from hence

you will not choose but conclude, that—seeing all the Christians in the world agree in the belief of what St. Luke hath written, and not only so, but in all other books of canonical scripture, which were never doubted of in and by the church—the learned archbishop had very just and certain ground to say, ‘that in those propositions which, without controversy, are universally received in the whole Christian world, so much truth is contained, as, being joined with holy obedience, may be sufficient to bring a man to everlasting salvation ; and that we have no cause to doubt, but that *as many as walk according to this rule*, neither overthrowing that which they have builded, by superinducing any damnable heresy thereupon, nor otherwise vitiating their holy faith with a lewd and wicked conversation, *peace shall be upon them, and upon the Israel of God.*’” *

* “The Religion of Protestants,” &c., chap. iv. sect. 43.

XIII. THE FLATTERING RECEPTION OF CHILLINGWORTH’S WORK. ANSWERS OF THE ROMANISTS : KNOTT’S (WILSON’S) “CHRISTIANITY MAINTAINED :” FLOYD’S “CHURCH CONQUERANT OVER HUMAN WIT,” AND “TOTAL SUM :” AND LACY’S “JUDGMENT OF AN UNIVERSITY-MAN :” WITH QUOTATIONS FROM EACH OF THEM.

AND this may serve to give the reader a taste of Mr. Chillingworth’s principles, style, and manner of arguing. His book was received with a general applause ; and, what perhaps never hap-

pened to any other controversial work of that bulk, two editions of it were published within less than five months; and it hath been reprinted several times since the Restoration. (xxxiv.) *

On the other side, Mr. Knott, seeing that he had not been able to deter Mr. Chillingworth from publishing his answer, tried once more to prejudice the public against it, wherein he was seconded by some other Jesuits. I shall give here an account of these pieces, which are now very scarce.

In the year 1638, Mr. Knott put out a pamphlet, entitled, "Christianity maintained: or, a Discovery of sundry Doctrines tending to the Overthrow of the Christian Religion, contained in the Answer to a Book, entitled, 'Mercy and Truth: or, Charity maintained by Catholics.'" † And here he charges Mr. Chillingworth with "the overthrow of the Christian religion," because he opposed the principles of the Church of Rome! But, after all, he says no more here than what he had affirmed in his former pamphlet, that, the "infallible authority of the Church of Rome being denied, no man can be assured that any parcel of scripture was written by Divine inspiration; and that none can deny that infallible authority, but he must abandon all infused faith and true religion, if he do but understand himself;" which, as Mr. Chillingworth observes, amounts to this,—that "all Christians beside the papists are open fools, or concealed atheists." ‡ And the truth is,

* See Remark xxxiv. at the end of this section, p. 237.

† Printed at St. Omer's. 4to. pp. 86.

‡ "The Preface," &c., sect. 14, 15.

this last pamphlet is but a paraphrase of the first. The same accusations are brought over and over again, and little or no notice is taken of Mr. Chillingworth's answers.

Mr. Knott himself was sensible that this pamphlet could never be looked upon as a satisfactory answer to Mr. Chillingworth's book ; and therefore he promises a larger work. "I would not have the reader conceive," says he, "that in this little volume I have touched all this man's doctrines which tend to the overthrow of Christianity, but only such as were most obvious. Nor is it my purpose, at this time, exactly to confute his grounds, or answer his objections, which may be done hereafter. My main business is, to demonstrate that, under the name of Christians, he undermines Christianity, and settles Socinianism ; which is the cause that moved me to set forth this short treatise for a present antidote, till a larger answer can be published." *

The "doctrines tending to the overthrow of the Christian religion," which he imputes to Mr. Chillingworth, are these : "1. That faith necessary to salvation is not infallible ; the grounds of which doctrine," says he, "lead to atheism. 2. That the assurance which we have of scriptures is but moral. 3. That the apostles were not infallible in their writings, but erred with the whole church of their time. 4. That his principles are injurious to the miracles of our Saviour and of his apostles. 5. That, by resolving faith into reason, he destroys the nature of faith, and belief of all Christian

* "Christianity maintained," &c., preface, p. 11.

verities. 6. That his doctrine is destructive of the theological virtues of Christian hope and charity. 7. That it takes away the grounds of rational discourse. 8. That it opens a way to deny the blessed Trinity, and other high mysteries of Christian faith. 9. That it lays grounds to be constant in no religion.* 10. And, lastly, that it provides for the impunity and preservation of whatsoever damnable error against Christian faith." Which imputations he thought sufficient to deter any Christian from reading Mr. Chillingworth's book. But the doctrines he imputes to him are either falsely or invidiously drawn from his principles; and, as that Jesuit owns himself, are (according to his way of arguing) equally deducible from the principles of all protestants. This libel he hath the confidence to dedicate to the king, and to rehearse the aforesaid aspersions before that learned and judicious prince, who understood perfectly the principles of the protestant religion, and was one of the admirers of Mr. Chillingworth's performance.

In the conclusion of this pamphlet, Mr. Knott laments the fate of his former libel, which had not the good fortune to prejudice the public against our author and his work, as he expected it would do; but, at the same time, seems wonderfully pleased to think that Mr. Chillingworth is condemned by his own book, "wherein Socinianism," says he, "appears manifestly in every part of it." Here is the whole passage:—

"Though this," saith he, [that is, his former

* See Remark vi., p. 23.

pamphlet, entitled, "A Direction to N. N.," &c.,] "hath not taken the full effect which could have been wished, and that, notwithstanding the warning given, he hath interlaced his whole book with such stuff as here you have seen; yet this we have gotten further, that it is discovered clearly to the world how deeply Socinianism is rooted in this man, (and, as it is to be feared, in many others with whom he must needs have had much conference since his undertaking the work,) in regard that no timely advice or Direction, no force of reason, no fear of shame or punishment, no former impressions of Christianity, could withdraw him from steeping his thoughts and pen in such unchristian ink; nor the many corrections, endeavoured by the approvers of his book, blot out his errors; though, in respect of the alterations which have been by report made in it by them, it is quite another thing from the first platform which he drew, and put into their hands;* and, consequently, how just reason the director had to suspect, that his true intention was not to defend protestantism, but covertly to vent Socinianism."†

To that pamphlet is subjoined a little piece, printed the same year, and at the same place, under the title of, "Motives maintained: or, a Reply unto Mr. Chillingworth's Answer to his own Motives of his Conversion to Catholic Religion." Pp. 24. In a short preamble, Mr. Knott acquaints the reader with the occasion of Mr.

* See Remark xxvii., p. 161.
Maintained," &c., preface, p. 79.

† "Christianity

Chillingworth's writing those motives, and adds, that "after divers turnings and returnings to and from that religion which, for so convincing motives, he then embraced, now he hath published an answer to those his own motives; but such an answer as proves him to be neither catholic nor protestant for his belief. For," says he, "through all his answers, catholics are impugned, protestants abandoned, and grounds laid for a new and wicked sect, which in this kingdom begins to be known and spoken of by the name of Socinianism. My intention," pursues he, "is briefly to maintain the answerer's catholic motives against his own answers to them. The method I propose to hold shall be natural and clear in itself, and easy for thy comprehension and memory,—setting down in order, first, the motive; then his answer to it; and, thirdly, my reply or confutation of his answer." *

Mr. Wood did not know that Mr. Knott was the author of the aforesaid pamphlet. (xxxv.)

The next pamphlet against Mr. Chillingworth was also printed at St. Omers, in the year 1638, with this title: "The Church conquerant over human Wit: or, the Church's Authority demonstrated by Mr. William Chillingworth's (the Proctor for Wit against her) perpetual Contradictions in his Book, entituled, 'The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation.'" In 4to., pp. 193. The author is a Jesuit, called John Floyd. (xxxvi.)

Mr. Floyd begins his preface with sounding the

* "Motives Maintained," &c., pp. 3, 4.

alarm against Mr. Chillingworth's book, which he calls "a direct and often-iterated exprobration made to the whole army of the living God." * And he adds, that "as he did heartily wish, so did he hopefully expect, that of the famous University, in the sight and hearing whereof this hateful exprobration was made,—an University stored with so many well-experienced warriors and redoubted champions,—some one would have appeared in field with the complete armour of Christian invincible learning, against this defier and challenger of the church of God." † But that, whatever "may have been the cause of this their forbearance, he is confident of their Christianity, that they will approve, favour, and applaud 'Christianity maintained.' Which treatise," says he, "if they have read over and perused, I dare say they have found therein a little David, short and solid, pious and pithy, learned and religious, armed with smooth stones of clear truth, gathered from the current of Christian tradition, delivered by the pastoral sling of the church's authority. On the other side, a mighty giant, destitute of all the signs and marks of a Christian soldier, armed neither with the authority of the present Christian church, nor perpetual traditions, nor councils, nor consent of fathers, nor with their single sentences, which he rejects as bulrushes of no strength." ‡

"That short treatise of 'Christianity maintained,'" pursues our Jesuit, "hath foiled this

* "The Church conquerant," &c., preface, sect. i. p. 3.
 † *Ibid.*, sect. ii. ‡ *Ibid.*, sect. iii., p. 4.

daring challenger by a stroke on the forehead, by laying open his principles how they destroy Christianity The spoils of his victory he leaveth to his armiger [Mr. Floyd] to gather, that he may also have part of the honour, and in the glorious victory, which is, as St. Jerome saith,* *cum Davide extorquere gladium de adversarii manibus, et superbissimi Goliæ caput proprio mucrone truncare*,† to confute and make away with the heads of his erroneous doctrine, by the force of his own sword, his words, sayings, and principles." ‡

This little piece is divided into seven chapters, and every chapter subdivided into several heads, called "convictions," wherein the Jesuit endeavours to show the inconsistencies and contradictions of Mr. Chillingworth. And, not contented with this attack, he says, in the conclusion, that "many new contradictions and impertinences, by him [Mr. Chillingworth] uttered, will be laid open in the treatise of the 'Total Sum,' which he intends as an appendix unto this." §

The "Total Sum" came out in 1639, entitled, "The total Sum: or, no Danger of Damnation unto Roman Catholics for any Errors in Faith; nor any Hope of Salvation for any Sectary whatsoever that doth knowingly oppose the Doctrine of the Roman Church. This is proved by the

* *Epistola* 84.

† Which is, as St. Jerome saith, "like David, to snatch the sword out of the hands of the adversary, and to cut off the head of the proud Goliath with the edge of that great boaster's own weapon."—EDR.

‡ "The Church conquerant," &c., sect. v. p. 5. § *Ibid.*, chap. vii. p. 193.

Confessions and Sayings of Mr. Chillingworth's Book." In 4to., pp. 104.

In the preface Mr. Floyd observes, that "as they who make bills of account, when they have set down distinctly for their discharge the particular sums of expenses, are accustomed, in the end, in few ciphers, to abbreviate the *total sum*; so this treatise coming after the former, as the conclusion thereof, he hath given it the name of 'Total Sum,' the argument handled therein being worthy of that style. For what is the final mark," says he, "the 'total,' the 'all in all,'* of our pious endeavours, labours, cares, solitudes, in this mortal life, but only to find out the true religion, wherein one shall be sure of his salvation, if simply and constantly he believe the doctrines, and live according to the laws, thereof?

"Verily," pursues he, "this is the pith, the marrow, the 'sum,' the quintessence, of all controversies ventilated betwixt protestants and us; and, in particular, it was the sole scope of that short, substantial treatise, 'Charity mistaken by Protestants;'+ which, being by Dr. Potter, in his 'Want of Charity,' impugned, was defended and confirmed by the learned labours and elucubrations of 'Charity maintained.' For the main controversy debated in these three books is, 'Whether Roman catholics and protestants may both be

* *Deum time, et mandata ejus observa : hoc est enim omnis homo.—Eccles. xii. 13.* ["Fear God, and keep his commandments: for this is the entire man." It is the Vulgate version of this passage.—EDIT.] † Mr. Knott, the author of that book, calls it, "a little, elegant, and pithy treatise," in his preface to "Infidelity Unmasked," &c., p. 10.

saved in their several religions ; ' or, which comes to the same issue, (seeing protestants grant we may be saved in our religion, because our errors are not fundamental and damnable,) ' Whether it is not want of charity in us, that we will not requite them with the like mild, gentle, and comfortable doom ; ' but constantly maintain, that salvation cannot be had in any course of separation and opposition against doctrine proposed by the Roman church as matter of faith." *

Mr. Floyd takes for granted, that protestants absolutely, and without restriction, own that "the errors of the church of Rome are not damnable." Mr. Knott had done the same before him ; but Mr. Chillingworth denied the fact. For, that Jesuit having asserted, that "we confess there is no damnable error in the doctrine or practice of the Roman church," he returned this answer : "We confess no such matter ; and though you say so a hundred times, no repetition will make it true. We profess plainly, that many damnable errors, plainly repugnant to the precepts of Christ, both ceremonial and moral,.....are believed and professed by you." † And a little lower : "Whereas again," says Mr. Chillingworth, "you obtrude upon us, 'that we cannot but confess, that your doctrine contains no damnable error ; and that yours is so certainly a true church, that, unless yours be true, we cannot pretend any ;' I answer, there is in this neither truth nor modesty, to outface us, that we cannot but confess what

* "The Total Sum," &c., preface, pp. 3, 4. † "The Protestant Religion," &c., chap. vii. sect. 23.

indeed we cannot but deny. For my part, if I were upon the rack, I persuade myself I should not confess the one nor the other." *

This second pamphlet of Mr. Floyd contains nine chapters, or "convictions," as he is pleased to call them; and every conviction is divided into articles, or paragraphs. The design of them is sufficiently explained by the title; and as for the arguments, I will venture to say, that they are a most complete piece of sophistry. The errors and contradictions he objects to Mr. Chillingworth, are so many mistakes or misrepresentations of his sense and meaning. He rehearses Mr. Knott's assertions, without either taking notice of, or attempting to confute, Mr. Chillingworth's answers. And of this last we have an instance before us: for he is not ashamed to lay down as a fact, that "protestants own that the papists have no damnable errors;" though Mr. Chillingworth, as we have seen, hath denied it in the fullest and strongest manner.

The third and last pamphlet, put out against Mr. Chillingworth, was printed in the year 1639, at St. Omers, as I take it, and entitled, "The Judgment of an University-Man concerning Mr. William Chillingworth's late Pamphlet in Answer to 'Charity maintained.'" In 4to., pp. 158. The author of it is Mr. William Lacy, a Jesuit. (xxxvii.) He calls that piece, "The Judgment of an University-Man," because, when he writ it, he was then dwelling in Oxon.† His design is,

* *Ibid.*, sect. 25.
vol. ii. col. 22.

† WOOD, *Athenæ Oxonienses*,

to confute, or rather to ridicule, not Mr. Chillingworth's book, as the title of the pamphlet seems to import, but his preface, or answer to Mr. Knott's "Direction," &c. This "Judgment of an University-Man" is but a rambling, sophistical, abusive declamation; a sort of burlesque, interlarded with several passages out of the Latin poets. In the very title we see that he calls Mr. Chillingworth's book a "pamphlet;" but he is angry with him for having so called Mr. Knott's "Direction," &c., which hath not two sheets and a half. However, he justifies this odd expression in the following manner: after having set down the title of Mr. Chillingworth's preface; namely, "The Preface to the Author of 'Charity maintained.' With an Answer to his Pamphlet, entituled, 'A Direction to N. N.;" he says:—

"I have observed this ordinary *tapeinosis*, or 'phrase of degradation,' very frequent in protestant writers against the catholic; but if, withal, they have christened it a 'popish pamphlet,' I dare say it is more than half the confutation. Now, fain would I know how many reams of paper may vindicate a book from the contempt of a pamphlet. In my opinion, a large volume, in folio, may be a pamphlet in substance; and a manual-book, of a very few sheets, may contain the weight and worth of an ample volume. True, if glovers and grocers be made judges, your swelling volumes are more useful for such occasions; they should do well to send them thither, where they shall be valued according to their bulk.

*Ad vicum vendentem thus, et odores,
Et piper, et quicquid chartis amicitur ineptis.**

But the printer will be paid according to the number of sheets, and good reason. Therefore, you have purchased with your purse a title of honour to your work above a pamphlet: therefore, he will not call it pamphlet; but I may, who take by weight of wit and substance, that of ink and paper.† And, to deal plainly and seriously with the man, if all the *parergas*, or impertinencies of his book were culled out, and the solid remains bound up by themselves, this would be a very pamphlet indeed, much less than either of the two so termed by him, M. C., [Chillingworth,] or by his patron, D. P.‡ Howsoever, if a Goliath chance to be defeated by a little David, had it not been more credit for him to have called him a giant, than a dwarf?" §

* Subjoined is Duncombe's translation of this extract from HORACE, lib. ii. epist. 1 :—

"Lest bard and patron, in an open box,
Be carried to the street, where spice, perfumes,
And frankincense are sold, with all such trash
As commonly is wrapt in worthless leaves."—EDIT.

† Those who recollect the Roman catholic extraction of Pope, and his earliest course of reading, will not consider it improbable that these three sentences in Lacy's pamphlet suggested to our poet the first idea of his celebrated couplet :—

"Tonson, who is himself a wit,
Weights writers' merits by the sheet."—EDIT.

‡ Dr. Potter called Mr. Knott's "Charity Mistaken," &c., a pamphlet; it being a small octavo, of 130 pages.
§ "The Judgment of an University-Man," &c., pp. 11, 12.

One passage more of Mr. Lacy * will be sufficient to give a notion of his pamphlet. Mr. Chillingworth had observed, that the pope's infallibility being once acknowledged, he may give such laws, and decree such doctrine, as he pleases, in opposition to the laws and the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and to the most plain and evident texts of scripture; and proved it by several instances. "Who that had lived in the primitive church," says he, "would not have thought it as utterly improbable, that ever they should have brought in the worship of images and picturing of God, as now it is that they should legitimate fornication? Why may we not think, they may, in time, take away the whole communion from the laity, as well as they have taken away half of it? Why may we not think, that any text and any sense may not be accorded, as well as the whole fourteenth chapter of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians is reconciled to the Latin service? How is it possible any thing should be plainer forbidden than the worship of angels, in the Epistle to the Colossians? than the teaching for doctrines men's commands, in the Gospel of St. Mark?" †

To which Mr. Lacy answers:—

"After this he strikes at the worship of angels, to be revenged, perhaps, of the striking-angel that slew the first-born in Egypt; then at traditions, and teaching men's commands for doctrines, Latin-service, images, &c.

"Verily, I can hardly believe that Mr. Chil-

* See also Remark III., p. 12; and XXVIII., p. 179.

† "The Religion of Protestants," &c., preface, sect. 11.

lingworth had a stomach strong enough to digest these many and many-times sodden *crambes*, enough to kill forty masters :—

*Occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros : **

and I could easily suspect some other had a great hand in the cookery, and ingested a great part of these ingredients. And is all our expectation come to this? after his ingenuous acknowledgment, when time was, that ‘Charity maintained’ could not be defeated by any forces of protestancy; nor by any of those accustomed attempts and practices; and that, notwithstanding, he had a way, and had found where, and wherewith, he could invade them strongly, and beat them from their former holds; which was to say, in effect,

*Dicam insigne, recens, adhuc
Indictum ore alieno :—†*

now, after all this, to come forth in a threadbare suit, patched up with old shreds of a number of stale arguments and objections;

Vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello ; ‡

* Gifford has thus translated this well-known passage from JUVENAL :—

“Till, like hash’d cabbage served for each repast,
The repetition kills the wretch at last.”—EDIT.

† The following is a slight accommodation of Francis’s version of this passage from HORACE, lib. iii. od. 25; 7, 8 :—

“Some theme, unsung by others, shall my lyre
Attempt, some bolder song its strings inspire.”—EDIT.

‡ This is Duncombe’s translation of HORACE, lib. i. epist. 7, 65 :—

“Selling small wares, and clad in mean attire.”—EDIT.

such as, in his first protestancy, he would not have stooped to take up! Well then, I see, any disgrace is credible enough in him who hath thrown away his target; and see, I pray you, what the famine and penury of a starved cause may do: *Quæ prius nolebat tangere anima mea, nunc præ angustid cibi mei sunt*: 'Where [what] heretofore my soul loathed, now, for very need, is become my food.' (Job.)

"The truth is, he was resolved upon other provision when he made this quarrel his enterprise; nor was he ignorant of these hard exigents, and these narrow passages, whereunto the protestant cause hath been, and is daily, driven by the catholic; therefore, he had determined with himself to draw him forth into the wide champaign and spacious plain of Socinianism. Now, being crossed in his course, (*sic visum superis*, 'so the gods would have it,') he is fallen into the ordinary, beaten way of his anti-catholic ancestry; and (which, I assure myself, not long since, he heartily disdained) now he can vouchsafe to glean after them," &c.*

Next to this piece of Mr. Lacy there is another, called, "*Heautomachia*: Mr. Chillingworth against himself." Pp. 46. It hath no title-page nor preface, being the sequel of the other, and printed at the same time. The style is also the same. It contains a confutation of Mr. Chillingworth's answer to his own motives. Mr. Lacy first sets down the motive; then the answer, which he calls the "re-motive;" and afterwards his reply, under the name of "pro-motive," or "replicant."

* "The Judgment of an University-Man," &c., p. 68.

REMARKS.

XXXIV.—PAGE 222.

Two editions of it were published within less than five months, and it hath been reprinted several times since the Restoration—The quick sale of a book, and especially of a book of controversy, in folio, is a good proof that the author hit the taste of his time. And yet, upon a change of that taste or humour, the book may never come to a second edition, and be neglected, though sometimes undeservedly : but when, after frequent impressions of such a work, it is still much inquired after ; if this be not a certain demonstration, it is, at least, a high presumption, of the excellency of that performance. And this is the case of Mr. Chillingworth's book, and will continue so, as long as sense, reason, and protestant liberty are preserved in England. I shall give here an account of the several editions of it.

1. The first was printed at Oxford, in the year 1638, as the title tells us ; but, besides that it is usual to booksellers, when they put out a book towards the latter end of the year, to prefix before it the date of the year ensuing, that edition must certainly have been printed, and even published, some time before the year 1638 ; for the *imprimatur* of the second edition is dated Feb. 6th, 1637 ; and supposing the first was published the 1st day of January, it must then have been very near sold off in five weeks' time, which is hardly credible. Besides, it appears, by Mr. Lacy's book, called, "The Church conquerant over human Wit,"* that the second edition was published in April, 1638 : for he refers to that edition in his book, and, at the same time, tells us, in the advertisement, that it "was, to the last word and syllable thereof, reviewed, and

* Printed in 1638. See Remark xxxvi., p. 244.

ready for the print long since, even in April of this year, 1638."

2. The second edition came out at London, with some few small improvements, in the year 1638, with the *imprimatur* of Dr. Samuel Baker, chaplain to Dr. Juxon, then bishop of London, dated Feb. 6th, 1638, as I have observed already. All the subsequent editions have been likewise printed at London.

3. The third edition was published in 1664, being licensed by Dr. Stradling,* chaplain to Dr. Sheldon, who had been translated from the see of London to that of Canterbury. To that edition were added some pieces of Mr. Chillingworth; namely, the "Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy," and "Nine Sermons; the first preached before His Majesty Charles I.; the other, upon special and eminent Occasions;" of which I shall give a more particular account hereafter.†

4. The fourth edition was printed in 1674, and is the same with the former.

5. The fifth came out in 1684, with the addition of Mr. Chillingworth's "Letter to Mr. Lewgar," as hath been said already.‡

In the year 1687, when this nation was in imminent danger of popery, Mr. Chillingworth's book being looked upon as the most effectual preservative against it, Dr. Patrick,§ at the request of the London clergy, published an abridgment of it, with some additional pieces of Mr. Chillingworth against popery, which had not been, as yet, printed. It came out with this title: "Mr. Chillingworth's Book, called, 'The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation,' made more generally useful, by omitting personal Contests, but inserting whatsoever concerns the common Cause of Protestants, or defends the Church

* The Approbation is dated, October 16th, 1663.

Remarks XLVII., XLIV.

John Patrick.

† See Remark VIII., p. 39.

‡ See

§ Dr.

of England. With an Addition of some genuine Pieces of Mr. Chillingworth's, never before printed." In 4to., pp. 408.*

In the advertisement, Dr. Patrick gives an account of the method he hath followed in abridging Mr. Chillingworth's book. "I hope," says he, "I shall incur no blame from those who deservedly value this excellent book of Mr. Chillingworth, for having made it of a lesser bulk, and an easier purchase, than before, after I have told them my way of proceeding herein. I have not epitomized it in the usual way, by contracting any where his sense, and giving it more briefly in words of my own; which would have been indeed an injury to him, who knew so well how to express his own sense fully and perspicuously, beyond most men, without any redundancy of style; but by paring off, and leaving out, some parts of it, which I thought might be well spared, and make the reading of his book more pleasant, as well as more generally useful, when his defence of the protestant doctrines and the cause of the Reformation lay more close together, not being interrupted with so many pages spent to justify Dr. Potter in the personal contests betwixt him and his adversary; or in detecting the sophistry, frauds, and falsities of the Jesuit, where the matter was not of common concern. But where I thought it was, I have been scrupulously careful to omit nothing; so far from it, that I am apt, upon a review, to think, that the pleasure of reading his admirable confutation has bribed me to insert more than was needful in pursuance of my first design."

He afterwards gives the reason why the Jesuit's book,

* A reprint of Dr. John Patrick's edition of CHILLINGWORTH'S "Religion of Protestants," has been lately published, in one thick volume, 12mo; which comprises also his Tracts, called here "Additional Discourses." All the Latin quotations are translated, and a few notes are added in elucidation of Chillingworth's text.—
EDIT.

which Mr. Chillingworth answers, is not there reprinted ; and then observes, that he hath "added a large table of contents at the end, which was wanting before, whereby the reader may find any argument or head of discourse therein contained, with little or no trouble ; which table will serve any edition of the book, because the numbers after the chapter refer to the divisions of the chapters at the side, not to the pages at the top."

And he concludes with an account of the additional pieces. "As for the additional pieces," says he, "that follow the book, and were never before printed, he that reads them will find, by the clearness of expression, the close way of arguing, and strength of reasoning, sufficient to convince him that they are not spurious, but the genuine productions of this great man ; but yet, for his further satisfaction, he may know, that the manuscript out of which most of them were faithfully transcribed, is an original of Mr. Chillingworth's own hand-writing, and now in the custody of the Rev. Dr. Tenison, to whom he is beholden for their present publication." *

These pieces were published with this title : "Additional Discourses of Mr. Chillingworth, never before printed," pp. 134 ; being licensed by William Needham, chaplain to archbishop Sancroft.† That collection contains, I. A Conference betwixt Mr. Chillingworth and Mr. Lewgar. II. A Discourse against the Infallibility of the Roman Church, with an Answer to all those Texts of Scripture that are alleged to prove it. III. A Conference concerning the Infallibility of the Roman Church ; proving, that the present Church of Rome either errs in her worshipping the blessed Virgin Mary, or that the ancient Church did err in condemning the Collyridians as Heretics. IV. An Argument drawn from the admitting Infants

* The letter to Mr. Lewgar, printed by itself, was subjoined to Mr. Chillingworth's book. See Remark VIII., p. 39.

† The *imprimatur* is dated, June 14th, 1686.

to the Eucharist, as without which they could not be saved, against the Church's Infallibility. V. An Argument drawn from the Doctrine of the Millenaries, against Infallibility. VI. A Letter relating to the same Subject. VII. An Argument against the Infallibility of the present Church of Rome, taken from the Contradictions in their Doctrine of Transubstantiation. VIII. An Account of what moved the Author to turn a Papist, with his own Confutation of the Arguments that persuaded him thereto. IX. An Answer to some Passages in Rushworth's Dialogues, beginning at the third Dialogue, section xii., page 181. Ed. Paris, 1654, about Traditions.*

6. The sixth edition of Mr. Chillingworth's book was printed in the year 1704; and, besides the pieces of the former editions, it contains the "Additional Discourses," printed in 1687, and the table of contents of the contracted edition, which they should now have enlarged and suited to the whole book. But the worst of that edition is, that it is full of errors of the press, which very often disturb the sense. This is most shameful in a work of that consequence, and should not be suffered in a nation where learning flourishes, and books sell at so dear a rate. And as there is an Act of Parliament which provides for a redress, when any book is "sold at any price or rate, as shall be conceived to be high and unreasonable," † so it were to be wished that some provision was made against such an abuse of the press.

7. The seventh and last edition was printed in 1719, and contains the same pieces as the former. It is pretended, in the title, that it is "compared with all the editions now extant, and made more correct than any of the former;" but how far this is true, let them judge that have examined it.

The new edition which, I hear, is now preparing, will,

* See Remark ix., p. 43.

† "An Act for the Encouragement of Learning," &c., anno 8 *Annæ reginæ*.

I hope, be answerable to the importance of the subject, and to the great name of CHILLINGWORTH. In order to perfect it, the second edition should be carefully compared with the first, which in several places may serve to improve and rectify the second. And as for the "Sermons," and "Additional Discourses," they ought to be printed from the editions of 1664, and 1687. If Mr. Chillingworth's original manuscripts of the said Discourses could be procured, I do not doubt but they would contribute towards bringing that edition to a greater perfection.

XXXV.—PAGE 226.

Mr. Wood did not know that Mr. Knott was the author of that pamphlet—If he had known it, he would undoubtedly have named him; whereas he only describes that author by these letters, "J. H.," * which are at the bottom of the dedication to the king. But Mr. Knott had used the same letters at the end of his dedication to that prince, prefixed before his "Charity maintained," &c.

In the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*, we find this pamphlet mentioned among Mr. Knott's books written against Mr. Chillingworth. The last edition of that *Bibliothèque*, published by Mr. Southwell, being very scarce, I will transcribe here what relates to this subject:—†

Scipsit Anglicè librum insignem adversus Doctorem hæreticum Potterum, qui arguerat catholicos tanquam expertes charitatis, docendo protestantes non posse salvari in suâ religione, et libro titulum fecit,—

"Misericordia et Veritas, seu Charitas propugnata a Catholicis. Duabus partibus, Audomari, 1634," in 4to. Item alium sub titulo,

"Christianitas propugnata de eodem ferè Argumento

* *Athensæ Oxon.*, vol. ii. col. 23. † *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*, &c., p. 185. See Remark VIII., p. 40; x., p. 61.

adversus Replicam cujusdam Hæretici Chillingworthii, et Socinianismum." *Ibidem*, 1638, in 4to. *Item*,

"*Directionem præviam ad eundem Chillingworthium.*" *Londini*, 1636," in 8vo.

"*Infidelitatem detectam adversus Librum ejusdem, quo docuerat, Religionem Protestantium esse securam Viam ad Salutem.*" *Gandavi*, 1652," in 4to.*

This passage affords me two or three observations :—

1. Mr. Southwell takes no notice of Mr. Knott's book, entitled, "Christianity mistaken," † which was answered by Dr. Potter; not knowing, I believe, that there was such a book. And this error hath led him into another: for he supposes that Dr. Potter's book, called, "Want of Charity," &c.,‡ occasioned Mr. Knott's answer, entitled, "Charity maintained;" and, consequently, that Dr. Potter was the aggressor; whereas he only vindicated the protestants against the first attacks of Mr. Knott.

2. The "Direction to N. N.," &c., being published in 1636, should have been placed before "Christianity maintained," which came out in 1638. I find the same inaccuracy in Alegambe's edition; but Mr. Southwell, who hath

* "He wrote in English a famous book against Dr. Potter the heretic, who had charged the catholics with being devoid of charity, because they teach that protestants cannot be saved in the profession of the Reformed religion. The title of his work was, 'Mercy and Truth: or, Charity maintained by Catholics,' &c., in two parts, printed at St. Omers, 1634, in 4to. He also composed another book on nearly the same subject: its title is, 'Christianity defended,' &c., against a reply to his former work written by a heretic of the name of Chillingworth, and against Socinianism. This likewise was printed at St. Omers, 1638, in 4to. Against the same Chillingworth he wrote a pamphlet, the title of which is, 'A Direction to be observed by N. N.,' &c.: it was printed at London, in 8vo; and a treatise which he entitled, 'Infidelity unmasked: or, the Confutation of a Book published by Mr. William Chillingworth, under this title: *The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation.*' It was printed at Ghent, 1652, in 4to."—EDIT. † See the text, p. 44. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

improved that article, should have rectified it also in this particular. And here I must confess, I have often wondered that the Jesuits, who make so great a figure in the world, and are so fond of glory, would not give us a more exact account of their authors and their writings than this *Bibliothèque*, begun by Ribadeneira, and continued by Alegambe and Southwell. The account which the Dominicans have lately published of their authors,* is much more complete and better digested.

3. Mr. Southwell says nothing of the little piece, called, "Motives maintained," probably because he looked upon it as the sequel, or second part, of "Christianity maintained." And I may add here, that Mr. Wood did not know the author of "Motives maintained;" for he is silent in that matter.†

XXXVI.—PAGE 226.

The author is a Jesuit, called John Floyd—We find this account of him in the History of the Jesuit Writers :—†

JOANNES FLOYDUS, natione Anglus, patriâ Cantabrigi-ensis, post studia Romæ in Collegio Anglicano cæpta Societati se addixit ibidem anno Salutis 1592, ætatis 20. Missus postmodum in Angliam, captus in carcerem conjectus, et post annum in exilium pulsus est. Docuit theologiam annos complures in Collegio Anglorum Lovaniensi; ubi et studiis diu præfuit. Conciones diu habuit Audomari ad Anglos magno cum sensu pietatis et fructu. Contra hæreticos (quos egregiè exagitavit) varios et perutiles scripsit libros, et demùm annis gravis per exercitia spiritualia S. P. Ignatii morti se accinxit, quam paulò post die 16 Septembris, 1649, Audomaropolî

* *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum recensiti, notisque historicis et criticis illustrati*, &c., a Jac. Quetif. et Jac. Echard. Printed at Paris, in 2 vols. fol., 1719. † *Ubi supra*, col. 23. ‡ *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*, &c., p. 449. See also *Historia Missionis Anglicanæ*, &c., lib. vi. sect. xii. p. 287.

appetivit, ætatis 77, societatis initæ 57, a votis quatuor nuncupatis 41.....

Anglicè edidit.....

“Ecclesiam Ingenii humani Debellatricem contra Chillingworthum Apostatam a Fide. Audomari, 1633,” in 4to.*

“Summam totalem de Salute in Romanâ Ecclesiâ contra eundem. Audomari, 1639,” in 4to.†

Mr. Wood mentions these two pamphlets, but says nothing of the author of the first, in the place where one would expect he should,‡ if he had known who he was ; and the second he attributes to another writer.§ It is true, that, in the second edition of his book, in one of the additional articles, || he speaks of “father John Floyd, a Jesuit,

* He should have said, 1638.

† “JOHN FLOYD, an Englishman, of the county of Cambridge, after having commenced his studies in the English college at Rome, united himself to the Society of Jesus, in that city, in the year of our Redemption 1592, being then but twenty years old. Having subsequently been sent on a mission into England, he was there seized, confined in prison twelve months, and then banished out of the country. During several years he was Professor of Divinity in the English college at Louvain, over which he afterwards presided as Principal, and superintended the studies of the candidates. For a long time he preached to the English at St. Omers with much pious feeling and considerable success. A variety of useful books were written by him against the heretics, whom he dreadfully plagued and disconcerted ; till at length, bending under the weight of years, he began to prepare himself for death, through the spiritual exercises prescribed by the holy father Ignatius Loyola ; and soon afterwards, (September 16th, 1649,) in the city of St. Omers, he encountered his last enemy, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, being the fifty-seventh after his entrance into the Society, and the forty-first after having taken upon him the four vows and professed. He wrote in English a book against Chillingworth, that apostate from the faith, of which the title is, ‘The Church conquerant over human Wit,’ &c., which was printed at St. Omers in 1633, (1638,) in 4to ; and against the same person in 1639, he published, in 4to, ‘The total Sum,’ &c., concerning salvation in the church of Rome.”—EDIT.

‡ *Ubi supra*, col. 23.

§ See Remark XXXVII., p. 248.

|| In the article of Dr. Herbert Croft, bishop of Hereford, vol. ii. col. 864.

the same who wrote himself Daniel a Jesu, and fell foully upon William Chillingworth for his apostasy, (as he calls it,) that is, for his returning to the church of England :” and in the margin I find this note,—“In the *Ecclesia Ingenii humani Debellatrix*. Audomar. 1631, qu. ;” which last words are taken out of Alegambe’s edition of the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*.* But, 1. That pamphlet is here cited as if it had been written in Latin ; whereas Mr. Wood knew, and said before, it was in English.† 2. It was not printed in 1631, but in 1638, as Mr. Wood had observed already.‡ But whether this is one of the interpolations which, they say, were made in the second edition of Mr. Wood’s *Athenæ Oxonienses*, by another hand,§ or not, I will not pretend to determine. I shall only observe, that if Mr. Wood had by him the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*, when he revised and enlarged his book, it is surprising he did not make use of it to improve or rectify the account he hath given of several Jesuits, and of their writings.

XXXVII.—PAGE 231.

The author of it is Mr. William Lacy, a Jesuit—Mr. Wood tells us,|| that he “was born in a market-town in Yorkshire, called Scarborough, became a student in the University of Oxford.....in 1600, aged sixteen years, or thereabouts.....After he had left the University, without the taking of any degree, he retired for a time to his native country ; and thence, by the persuasion of a certain person, to the English College at Rome.....Thence he went to Nancy, in Lorraine, where he entered himself into the

* Printed at Antwerp, in 1643.

† *Ubi supra*, col. 23 of the first edition, and col. 43 of the second.

‡ *Ibidem*.

§ Mr.

Hearne, in his preface before “The History and Antiquities of Glas-tonbury,” p. xliv., calls that second edition a “spurious edition.”

|| *Ubi supra*, col. 379.

Society of Jesus, *anno* 1611 ; at which time he bound himself by oath to observe the four vows. Afterwards he taught Humanity for some years at St. Omers.....*anno* 1622. About that time, being sent on the mission into England, he settled in the city of Oxon, where.....he died, on the 17th day of July, in 1673, aged eighty-nine years." *

"He was esteemed by all," observes Mr. Wood, "especially by those of his opinion, a learned man, well versed in the poets, of a quiet disposition, and gentle behaviour ; which made him therefore respected, and his company to be desired, by certain scholars of the University, especially by Thomas Masters,† and other ingenious men of New College. But," pursues he, "this their civility to, and esteem of, him, was not while the presbyterians governed, who made it a most dreadful and damnable thing to be seen in the company of papists, especially of Romish priests ; but before the rebellion broke forth upon their account, when then the men of the church of England had a respect for papists, as they now have for presbyterians." ‡

Mr. Southwell gives the following account of Mr. Lacy :—§

GULIELMUS LACÆUS, *natione Anglus, patriâ Eboracensis, post navatam philosophiæ operam in Collegio Anglicano Romæ, tirocinium religiosæ vitæ in Societate posuit Nancæi in Lotharingiâ, anno Salutis 1611, ætatis 26, et votorum quatuor nuncupatione se adstrinxit. Docuit multis annis humaniores literas cum laude tum Audomaropoli in Belgio, tum in ipsâ Angliâ, ubi 58 annos, vel in ætate emeritâ, vineam illam naviter coluit, sæpius ab hæreticis ad mortem quæsitus, prudentiâ suâ eorum molimina evasit. Tandem senio et laboribus confectus, ad horum præmia migravit ex hac vitâ, Oxonii, die 3 Augusti, 1673. Scripsit Anglicè con-*

* *Ibid.*, col. 380.

† *Ibid.*, col. 379.

‡ *Ibid.*, col. 19.

§ *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*, &c, p. 315.

tra hæresim Socinianam, tunc in Angliâ gliscentem, tacito suo nomine; solidè, atque acutè; et edidit sub titulo:—

“Judicium Academici de Libello Gulielmi Chillingworthi, 1639,” in 4to. Cui addita est ad calcem

*“Heautomachia: sive Pugna ejusdem Chillingworthi adversus seipsum.” Typis iisdem, et anno.**

Mr. Wood gives this account of the writings of Mr. Lacy:—

“The things,” says he, “that this father hath written, are,

“‘The Judgment of an University-Man concerning Mr. William Chillingworth’s late Pamphlet in answer to *Charity maintained.*’ Printed in 1639, 4to. Reprinted at Cambridge in 1653, in 8vo., in a preface to a book then and there published.

“‘*Heautomachia*: Mr. Chillingworth against himself.’

* “WILLIAM LACY, an Englishman, of the county of York, after a successful pursuit of his philosophical studies in the English college at Rome, commenced his religious life in the Society of Jesus, at Nantz in Lorraine, in the year of our Redemption 1611, when he was twenty-six years of age, and bound himself by the usual profession of the four vows. For many years he taught Humanity, with great applause, both at St. Omers in Flanders, and in England itself. He sedulously cultivated the vineyard of his native country, during fifty-eight years, even in the decline of life, when, on account of his past valuable services, he was entitled to a discharge from all laborious employment. The heretics often made inquisition after him, that his person might be consigned to capital punishment; but by his prudence all their attempts against him were foiled. At length, bowed down with age, and worn out by toil, on August 3d, 1673, at Oxford, he departed this life, to reap in a better world the reward of his labours. Suppressing his name, he wrote a book in English, with much strength and acuteness, against the Socinian heresy, which was then beginning to disspread itself through the nation; and published it in 1639, under the title of ‘The Judgment of an University-Man concerning Mr. William Chillingworth’s late Pamphlet,’ &c., in 4to. In the same year, and in the same type, he appended to this another book, to which he gave the title of ‘*Heautomachia*: Mr. Chillingworth against himself.’”—EDIT.

“‘The total Sum.’ These two are printed at the end of the ‘Judgment,’” &c.*

Whereupon we may observe, 1. That he attributes the “Total Sum” to Mr. Lacy, whereas it is Mr. Floyd’s.† 2. He says, that the *Heautomachia* and the “Total Sum” are printed at the end of the “Judgment,” &c., because he found them, I suppose, bound together, and in that order, in the copy he used ; and I remember to have seen such a copy in one of the libraries at Oxford. 3. He affirms, that the “‘Judgment of an University-Man’ was reprinted at Cambridge, in 1653, in 8vo., in a preface to a book then and there published ;” which words contain two or three egregious mistakes. The fact is, that Mr. Smith‡ published in 1653, in 8vo., an English translation of Mr. Dailé’s “Apology for the Reformed Churches ;” to which he added a preface ; for thus runs the title of that volume,—“containing the Judgment of an University-Man concerning Mr. Knott’s last Book § against Mr. Chillingworth.” Mr. Wood hath jumbled together things of a quite different nature. Mr. Lacy’s “Judgment” is an invective against Mr. Chillingworth, on behalf of Mr. Knott ; and Mr. Smith’s “Judgment” is a vindication of Mr. Chillingworth against Mr. Knott, as we shall see hereafter.

* *Ubi supra*, col. 379. † See Remark xxxvi., p. 244. ‡ *De quo supra*, Remark x., p. 60 ; xxv., p. 138. § That is, his “Infidelity Unmasked,” &c.

XIV. ACCOUNT OF KNOTT'S "INFIDELITY UNMASKED," WITH NUMEROUS EXTRACTS.

MR. KNOTT was wonderfully pleased with this performance of Mr. Lacy, as appears by the preface of his large book against Mr. Chillingworth. (xxxviii.)* And now I have mentioned that book, which was published in 1652, I think it will not be improper to give here some account of it.

Mr. Knott's answer coming out fourteen years after the publishing of Mr. Chillingworth's book, and nine years after the death of Mr. Chillingworth, it might have been expected that his heat and animosity were calmed; but nothing could bring him to a better temper. And as, in his last pamphlet, he had accused Mr. Chillingworth with overthrowing Christianity, so, in this book, he charges him with infidelity: for he entitles it, "Infidelity unmasked: or, the Confutation of a Book published by Mr. William Chillingworth, under this title: 'The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation.'"†

In the preface, Mr. Knott accounts for his publishing his answer so late. "I cannot doubt," says he, "but that an answer to Mr. Chillingworth's book hath been expected long since. But they who are acquainted with the many, and long, and great, and insuperable obstacles of voyages to remote countries; long, frequent, and

* See Remark xxxviii. at the end of this section, p. 260.

† Printed in Ghent, 1652, in 4to., pp. 949, besides the preface and the index.

great sicknesses ; and unavoidable employments, (imposed by authority, which I ought not to resist, though some can witness, that even in that I strained obedience, more than I should have adventured to do upon any other occasion,) which have crossed my earnest and constant desires ; will not so much marvel, that this work hath been long in doing, as that finally it is done. This one thing is evident : that not any difficulty to answer could have been cause of so long delay ; since whosoever can answer now, could have done it much sooner, if extrinsical impediments had been removed." *

Mr. Knott may very well say, "It was not any difficulty to answer that could have been cause of so long delay : " his materials were ready even before Mr. Chillingworth's book was put out. For as his "Christianity maintained" was only a paraphrase upon his "Direction," as I have observed already ; so this last book is but a comment on the former pamphlet. The same aspersions and calumnies are brought in and enlarged upon, without any regard to Mr. Chillingworth's answers and declarations. As to his arguments, they are loose, rambling, intricate ; and, in that respect, this last composure of Mr. Knott is much inferior to his book against Dr. Potter, called, "Charity maintained."

In the same preface, our Jesuit complains of Mr. Chillingworth's way of answering, and of his having abandoned Dr. Potter, and the first principles of protestants. "As for that unfortunate

* "Infidelity Unmasked," &c., preface, sect. ii. p. 1.

man whom I confute," says he,* "truth obliges me to declare, that, beside his most contemning, disdaining, proud, bitter, and even bloody, way of answering, by seeking to make odious both the religion and persons of catholics.....I must insist upon this: that, in reality, his book is no confutation of 'Charity maintained,' who answered Dr. Potter according to the grounds of protestants, not of Socinians, or any other new sect. And, therefore, Mr. Chillingworth, flying to new principles, hath abandoned Dr. Potter, and all the elder kind of protestants, and left his adversary in possession of being unanswered; agreeably to his ingenuous acknowledgment, when time was, that 'Charity maintained' could not be defeated by any forces of protestants, and that he had a way to confute him." †

It is pleasant enough to see our Jesuit charge Mr. Chillingworth with a "contemning, disdaining," &c., "way of answering;" an excess he is himself the most guilty of. (xxxix.) As to what he adds, that Mr. Chillingworth "hath abandoned Dr. Potter, and the elder kind of protestants, and left his adversary in possession of being unanswered;" Mr. Chillingworth himself owns, that "he did never pretend to defend Dr. Potter absolutely, and in all things, but only so far as he defends truth;" but, at the same time, he observes, that "he doth not find that he hath cause to differ from him in any matter of moment," ‡

* "Infidelity Unmasked," &c., preface, sect. iii. p. 1.

† See "The Judgment of an University-Man," sect. xvi. p. 68.

‡ "The Religion of Protestants," &c., in the "Conclusion," p. m. 389.

and proves it by several instances. Mr. Chillingworth declares, likewise, that his design is to defend "the common cause of protestants ;" * and if so, how can he be said to have "fled to new principles, and abandoned all the elder kind of protestants ?" If by "new principles," our Jesuit means Mr. Chillingworth's rejecting all human authority, and asserting, that "the scripture is the only rule of faith," or that "the Bible only is the religion of protestants," he is under a very great mistake : for these are the very "principles all the elder kind of protestants" went upon.† Let us now examine Mr. Knott's conclusion. Mr. Chillingworth, says he, hath "left his adversary in possession of being unanswered." Why, then, hath that adversary spent so much ink and paper to reply ? Surely, he must have a great deal of time to spare, or be at a great loss what to do, to write a volume, in quarto, of near a thousand pages, against the attacks of an "adversary who left him in possession of being unanswered !" Why so many invectives ? so much bitterness and resentment ? Did ever an author fall into these excesses, without being galled by his adversary ; and overpowered by his own passion ? Our Jesuit is provoked to that degree, that he runs into the most absurd fanaticism. He imagines that the late unhappy troubles were a judgment upon the nation, for having countenanced and approved Mr. Chillingworth's book.

"Miserable protestancy," says he, "that could

* *Ibid.*, preface, sect. 40.
p. 209.

† See Remark xxxi.,

find no advocate, except an enemy to it and all Christianity, who took this occasion only to vent new heresies, no less repugnant to protestants than to catholics ! Did not protestants foretell, and, in fact, prophesy, their own ruin, in preferring this unhappy man, before all England, to be defender of their faith ? Who can wonder, to behold that nation swimming in desolation and blood, which endures to behold a book published, approved, applauded, which purposely and directly teaches Christian faith not to be infallibly true ; and, consequently, that whatsoever Christians have hitherto believed, of scripture, of Christ, of all Christian verities, may, for aught they can certainly know to the contrary, prove fabulous, false, or no better than dreams ? ” *

Who would now think, that this tragical declamation is but a chimera, a phantom of Mr. Knott's own raising ? and yet such a one as perfectly answered his design, to blacken and asperse Mr. Chillingworth. For there is not one reader in a thousand, but will conceive, that our Jesuit charges Mr. Chillingworth with maintaining, that “ Christian faith ” (that is, the doctrine of Christianity revealed in the gospel) “ is not infallibly true ; ” whereas, by the word “ faith,” Mr. Knott does not mean the object of faith, or Divine revelation, but the act of faith ; that is, that act of the mind by which we assent to Divine truths : therefore, the question is, whether that assent, or act of the mind, is infallible ; or, which amounts to the same, whether men are infallible in

* “ Infidelity Unmasked,” preface, sect. iii. p. 2.

exerting that act of their mind, or assent; or, lastly, whether that assent is of the same nature with the assent which we give to a mathematical proposition. Mr. Knott affirms it, and "would fain have it true, that there might be some necessity of his church's infallibility;"* but Mr. Chillingworth denies it, and shows it is both contrary to the nature of things, and derogatory from God's infinite wisdom and goodness. "I do heartily acknowledge," says he, "and believe the articles of our faith be in themselves truths, as certain and infallible as the very common principles of geometry and metaphysics. But, that there is required of us a knowledge of them, and an adherence to them, as certain as that of sense or science; that such a certainty is required of us, under pain of damnation, so that no man can hope to be in the state of salvation, but he that finds in himself such a degree of faith, such a strength of adherence;—this I have already demonstrated to be a great error, and of dangerous and pernicious consequence. And because I am more and more confirmed in my persuasion, that the truth which I there delivered is of great and singular use, I will here confirm it with more reasons," &c.†

And some pages lower: "Though I deny," says he, "that it is required of us to be certain in the highest degree, infallibly certain, of the truth of the things which we believe, (for this were to *know* and not *believe*,) neither is it possible, unless our evidence of it (be it natural or supernatural)

* "The Religion of Protestants," &c., chap. vi. sect. 4.

† *Ibid.*, sect. 3.

were of the highest degree ; yet I deny not, but we ought to be and may be infallibly certain, that we are to believe the religion of Christ. For, first, this is most certain, that we are in all things to do according to wisdom and reason, rather than against it. Secondly. This is as certain, that wisdom and reason require that we should believe these things, which are by many degrees more credible and probable than the contrary. Thirdly. This is as certain, that to every man who considers impartially what great things may be said for the truth of Christianity, and what poor things they are which may be said against it, either for any other religion or for none at all, it cannot but appear by many degrees more credible that Christian religion is true, than the contrary. And, from all these premisses, this conclusion evidently follows,—that it is infallibly certain that we are firmly to believe the truth of Christian religion.”*

But all the reasons of Mr. Chillingworth had no effect on Mr. Knott, who was resolved to maintain that absurd and sophistical position,† namely, that “Christian faith is infallibly true,” because it supported, as he thought, the infallibility of his church ; whereby he took occasion to raise all this clamour against Mr. Chillingworth. But the most absurd of all is, that, after having charged him upon that account with being “an enemy to protestancy and all Christianity, and venting new heresies, no less repugnant to protestants than to catholics,” he says, in another place, that this very

* “The Religion of Protestants,” &c., chap. vi. sect. 8.

† See Mr. Smith, preface, *ubi supra*, p. 25, *et seq.*; and Dr. Tillotson’s preface against Mr. Sergeant.

doctrine of Mr. Chillingworth necessarily flows from the principles of the protestants, who deny the infallibility of the church of Rome. "And yet I confess it to be a thing very certain and evident," says he, "that the denial of infallibility in God's church, for deciding controversies of faith, must inevitably cast men upon this desperate, unchristian, and antichristian doctrine : and while protestants maintain the church to be fallible, they cannot avoid this sequel,—that their doctrine may be false ; since, without infallibility in the church, they cannot be absolutely certain that scripture is the word of God. O what scandal do these men cast on Christian religion, by either directly acknowledging, or laying grounds from which they must yield, Christian faith not to be infallibly true ; while Jews, Turks, Pagans, and all who profess any religion, hold their belief to be infallible, and may justly upbraid us, that even Christians confess themselves not to be certain that they are in the right, and have, with approbation of greatest men, in a famous University, published to the world such their sense and belief ! " *

Which confession, stripped of the scurrility and falsehood usual to our Jesuit, shows that Mr. Chillingworth did, after all, reason consistently with the principles of protestants. The only difference between him and the other protestant writers is, that he hath argued with greater clearness, strength, and consistency, than any of them, though he proceeds upon the same principles with

* "Infidelity Unmasked," &c., chap. i. sect. i. p. 37.

them ; which may be the cause of Mr. Knott's particular rancour and animosity against him.

I will conclude this account of Mr. Knott's performance, with the judgment of Mr. Smith upon the same.

"The chief book," says he, "that is now [1653] extolled by our Romanists is one lately set forth by Mr. Edward Knott, *aliàs* Nicholas Smith, whose true name is Matthew* Wilson, born at Pegsworth, near Morpeth, in Northumberland ; who was, for several years, Professor of Divinity at the English College in Rome ; then Vice-Provincial ; and, that he might finish this his last book the better, was made Provincial of all English Jesuits ; all which I am informed by some of his own countrymen and society. The book is entituled, ' Infidelity unmasked : or, the Confutation of Mr. Chillingworth,' &c. Wherewith if any wavering protestant chance to be shaken in his belief, (whereof, though the Romanists generally boast much, I see no danger, because I have, after much inquiry, not heard of two in England that have had the patience to read it over, it is so full of monstrous tenets and impertinencies,†) I shall entreat, for his satisfaction, to read likewise over Mr. Chillingworth's book, against which it was writ ; and he shall find Mr. Chillingworth's a sufficient answer to it, if he please to compare section with section, from the beginning to the end

* Matthias, not Matthew. See Remark x., p. 60.

† "Sect. xviii. p. 52 ; sect. lxxv. p. 337 ; p. 354, l. 20 ; p. 495, l. 31 ; p. 648, l. *ult.* ; p. 728, l. *ult.*, &c. ; p. 808, l. 20 ; p. 812, l. 16. But I delight not *camarinam movere*, since," &c.

of each : for he will perceive, that the most weighty arguments of Mr. Chillingworth—as all the ‘Answer to the Directions of N. N.,’ that is, Mr. Knott, wherein Mr. Chillingworth drew up and proved an high charge of atheism and Socinianism against Mr. Knott and his party, and cleared himself; and so many places as it would be tedious to specify—are passed by, as the sick man in the highway was by the Jew, without notice taken : and the rest so jejune handled, and so far from a complete answer, (though it is sufficiently known, that Mr. Knott, being in such high place, and dividing part of the task among many of his inferiors, and making use of those three folios writ by Mr. G. H. against Mr. Chillingworth, [which Dr. Hammond mentioneth in his unanswerable defence of the lord Falkland,*] and other the like helps, had all the human advantages that could be had,) so little touched, that methinks he may well unchristen his book a little more, and recall that *ἐπὶ ῥαφῇ*,† ‘The Confutation of Mr. Chillingworth’s Book,’ reserving only the rest, ‘Infidelity unmasked;’ and that in relation to himself.” ‡

Thus the learned and judicious Mr. Smith delivers his judgment upon Mr. Knott’s work. Let us now return to Mr. Chillingworth.

* See “A View of some Exceptions which have been made by a Romanist to the Lord Viscount Falkland’s Discourse of the Infallibility of the Church of Rome,” &c., p. 31. Oxford, 1646. 4to. † That part of “the title.”—EDIT. ‡ Preface, *ubi supra*, p. 14, *et seq.*

REMARKS.

XXXVIII.—PAGE 250.

Mr. Knott was wonderfully pleased with this performance of Mr. Lacy, as appears by the preface of his large book against Mr. Chillingworth—Mr. Knott was so satisfied with that pamphlet, that he judged it to be a just and sufficient answer to Mr. Chillingworth's preface, which acquitted him from answering it himself. He was even pleased to fancy that it had very much "troubled" and "vexed" his adversary. "I meddle not," says he, "with Mr. Chillingworth's answer, by way of preface, to a little work, entituled, 'A Direction to N. N.,' because presently, upon the publishing of his book, that preface of his was in such manner confuted, by a witty, erudite, and solid book, with this title, 'The Judgment of an University-Man concerning Mr. William Chillingworth's late pamphlet in Answer to *Charity maintained*,' that he was much troubled thereat, but yet thought fit to digest his vexation by silence." *

But the learned and ingenious Mr. Smith, before mentioned, is of a very different opinion. For, speaking of Mr. Knott's preface, "After he hath given his readers," says he, "some admonitions how to read his book, [I wish that he, pretending to answer the whole, had printed Mr. Chillingworth's with it, that we might the more readily have compared them,] and told them, 'that one half of *Charity maintained* is yet unanswered,' [he who readeth Mr. Chillingworth's book, or but the last lines of it, sees the reason of that,] he professeth, that he will not meddle with Mr. Chillingworth's answer to the 'Direction to N. N. ;' (very ingenuously spoken !) but why ? 'Because it is confuted by a book, entituled, *The Judgment of an University-Man concerning Mr. Chillingworth's Pamphlet* : (it was a pretty

* "Infidelity Unmasked," &c., preface, sect. ix. p. 4.

little pamphlet!) but whether that ‘Judgment of an University-Man’ (which I never met with any man whosoever that saw, unless such to whom I have showed it) be a real answer to any page of Mr. Chillingworth’s book, any more than Chaucer’s Tales, I desire any unprejudiced man to determine. Only I must take notice, as I pass, that Mr. Knott doth very well to observe so soon that precept which Tully gives his orator, (and Ulysses, in Ovid, against Ajax, practiseth,) to skip over the hardest arguments. What it is in an orator, I will not say; but, I am sure, it is no great sign of a good disputant.” *

XXXIX.—PAGE 252.

An excess he is himself the most guilty of—Mr. Knott charges Mr. Chillingworth with a “most contemning, disdain, proud, bitter, and even bloody, way of answering, by seeking to make odious both the religion and persons of catholics;” whereupon it may be observed, that there are two “ways of making odious the religion and persons” of a sect or communion: one, by imputing to them “odious” principles, which they do not hold, or which they expressly disavow; the other, by giving a true and impartial account of their principles or practices, which, being very “odious” in themselves, cannot but “make” that sect “odious” which holds them. As to the first, it does not appear, even by Mr. Knott’s book, that Mr. Chillingworth imputed to the Romish religion any doctrine or practice which is not truly hers; and, consequently, he did not “seek to make” her “odious” in that sense. But if the true and faithful representation he gives of her doctrine and practice, “makes” her really “odious,” it is not the fault of the representer, but of the things represented. And in this last sense it must be owned, that he “makes” the popish

* Preface, containing “The Judgment of an University-Man,” &c., pp. 23, 24.

religion "odious ;" when, for instance, showing the difference between following the scripture, and following the church of Rome, among other things, he says : "Following the scripture, I shall believe a religion which, being contrary to flesh and blood, without any assistance from worldly power, wit, or policy, nay, against all the power and policy of the world, prevailed and enlarged itself, in a very short time, all the world over. Whereas it is too apparent, that your church hath got, and still maintains, her authority over men's consciences, by counterfeiting false miracles, forging false stories ; by obtruding on the world supposititious writings ; by corrupting the monuments of former times, and defacing out of them all which any way makes against you ; by wars, by persecutions, by massacres, by treasons, by rebellions ; in short, by all manner of carnal means, whether violent or fraudulent." * Which passage Mr. Knott cites, without offering a word to disprove it.† It may be owned also, that, in the same sense, he "makes" the Jesuits "odious," when he says, that "order envenoms even poison itself," &c.‡

But let us suppose, that the notion he gives of the popish religion amounts to this : "That it debars men from the use of their senses, reason, and liberty, and from all the possible means of finding the truth ; that it changes virtue into vice, and vice into virtue ; and, in a word, that it is the most impious, wicked contrivance that could ever be invented for the ruin and destruction of mankind." Or suppose that he hath a description of it, equivalent to that of a very ingenious author : "That popery is such a thing as cannot, but for want of a word to express it, be called a religion ; nor is it to be mentioned with that civility which is otherwise decent to be used, in speaking of the differences of human opinion about Divine matters. Were it

* "The Religion of Protestants," &c., chap. vi. sect. 66. † See "Infidelity Unmasked," &c., chap. xv. sect. liv. pp. 929, 930.

‡ In his Dedication to the King.

either open Judaism," pursues he, "or plain Turkery, or honest Paganism, there is yet a certain *bona fides* in the most extravagant belief; and the sincerity of an erroneous profession may render it more pardonable: but this is a compound of all the three, an extract of whatsoever is most ridiculous and impious in them, incorporated with more peculiar absurdities of its own, in which those were deficient; and all this deliberately contrived, knowingly carried on, by the bold imposture of priests, under the name of Christianity," &c.* Suppose, I say, Mr. Chillingworth had used these or the like expressions, this would not be "making" the Romish religion "odious," but representing it as it is in itself, and in its direct and immediate consequences.

On the other side, whoever reads Mr. Knott's book and pamphlets, will find his "most contemning, disdaining, proud, bitter, and even bloody, way of answering, by seeking to make odious" both Mr. Chillingworth's "person"—when, breaking through the common rules of decency and good manners, he does not vouchsafe to call him by his name, but only "this man," or "that man"†—and his "religion,"—when he represents him as a Socinian, and as one who destroys the "certainty of Christian faith," &c. And in the same manner he treats, and is "seeking to make odious," the "religion and persons" of protestants, in charging their principles with Socinianism, antichristianism, and atheism. Is it not then most ludicrous to see our Jesuit censure Mr. Chillingworth for his invidious "way of answering," when he is himself the most guilty of it?"

"I was ever," says Mr. Smith, "a great enemy to rancour in dispute, and am of that viscount's mind, who thought, that there ought to be no more bitterness in a

* "An Account of the Growth of Popery," &c., by ANDREW MARVEL, p. 70. In the State Tracts, printed in 1689. † See Remark VI., p. 23; XXIX., p. 191.

treatise of controversy than in a love-letter. And, therefore, though I never saw Mr. Chillingworth, (whom I find commended by Mr. Baxter,* and other eminent divines, and commended by his adversaries, for a devout and rational man,) yet I cannot but be moved with pity and grief to see,

ἥτερον αὐτοῖ

Νεκροῦ σώμα λεόντος ἐφυβρίζουσι λαγῶι, †

how Mr. Knott (who bespattereth Casaubon, and several other very learned men) insulteth over Mr. Chillingworth, now being dead ; who would not come near him to dispute while he was alive, though Mr. Chillingworth, at sundry times, and by several ways, entreated and solicited, nay, pressed and importuned, him to it, before the printing of this folio, (see the ‘Answer to the Direction to N. N.,’ section 4 ; and afterwards, as I am told by them that knew him,) which he survived seven years : how, after seventeen years’ studying to lay this Hector in the dust, Mr. Knott set forth a book, wherein (to speak, first, of the manner of his discourse) the chief thing he doth is, to scare his readers with mormoes, (*fortiter calumniando antagonis-tam ut aliquid hæreat*, † as his policy was in Tacitus,) chiefly bespattering him (and that almost in every page) with odious imputations of such opinions, whereof he cannot point us out one in all his volume, concerning which he (who best knew his own belief, and is long since gone to

* “Is it not a shame, that learned men should blame this [opinion concerning reason] in Mr. Chillingworth, Dr. Hammond, &c., and thereby advance Socinianism, and ruin Christianity ?”—“Saint’s Rest,” preface to part ii., p. 18, *et sæpe alibi*.

† “Lions themselves, when dead, must brook
The timid hare’s contemptuous look.”

—EDIT.

‡ “The calumniator, like the slave who bespatters his antagonist with mud, is not sparing of his slanders, hoping that some particles out of the many will adhere to the person.”—EDIT.

answer for it, good or bad) said more than once, as in his 'Answer to the Direction to N. N.,' section 28, 'Whosoever teacheth or holdeth them, let him be anathema!' " *

* Preface, *ubi supra*, pp. 17, 18.

XV. CHILLINGWORTH'S SUBSCRIPTION TO THE XXXIX ARTICLES. HE IS PROMOTED TO THE CHANCELLORSHIP OF SARUM, AND DEPUTED BY THE CHAPTER, AS THEIR PROCTOR, TO THE CONVOCATION ON CHURCH AFFAIRS. DISTURBED STATE OF THE KINGDOM. CHEY-NELL'S ACCUSATION AGAINST CHILLINGWORTH AND OTHER EMINENT PERSONS. THE SIEGE OF GLOUCESTER, IN WHICH CHILLINGWORTH APPLIES HIS CLASSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL KNOWLEDGE TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF MILITARY ENGINES. HE PREACHES BEFORE THE KING AT OXFORD. ACCOUNT OF THAT SERMON, AND OF OTHER EIGHT SUBSEQUENTLY PUBLISHED.

THE archbishop having read his book, and the king, who was an excellent judge in those matters, having probably done the same, they thought proper to confer upon the author some considerable preferment. It was not long before they had an opportunity of doing it. Dr. Richard Mountague, bishop of Chichester, was elected bishop of Norwich, in May, 1638; * and Dr. Brian Duppa,

* LE NEVE, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, &c., p. 212.

Chancellor of Salisbury, having been promoted to that see ; * the Chancellorship of Sarum was given to Mr. Chillingworth, July 20th, with the prebend of Brixworth, in Northamptonshire, annexed to it. He then complied with the usual subscription, as it appears by the subscription-book of the church of Salisbury. (XL.) †

“About the same time,” says Mr. Wood, “he was also rewarded with the Mastership of Wygstan’s Hospital, in the ancient borough of Leicester ; both which, and perhaps other preferments, he kept to his dying day.” ‡

In the year 1640 Mr. Chillingworth was deputed by the chapter of Salisbury, as their Proctor, to the Convocation which met with the Parliament, and was opened on April 14th. § The Parliament was dissolved on May 5th, and it was expected the Convocation would also be dissolved, as usual, the day after ; but they only adjourned for some days ; and the king having granted them a new commission, dated May 12th, they continued sitting till the 29th of the same month ; during which time they dispatched the matters before them that had been left unfinished. They granted His Majesty a subsidy of four shillings in the pound, for six years, by the name of “benevolence,” or “contribution,” to be levied upon the clergy under the penalty of ecclesiastical cen-

* LE NEVE, *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, &c., pp. 269, 59.

† See Remark XL. at the end of this section, p. 280.

‡ *Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. ii. col. 21. § MSS. of Henry Wharton, in *Bibliotheca Lambeth.*, vol. A, p. 264. See also NALSON, *ubi infra*, p. 353.

tures;* and enacted several constitutions and canons,† which being confirmed by the king, under the great seal of England, were immediately printed.

These proceedings of the Convocation were highly resented in the next Parliament‡ by the House of Commons, who declared them to be against the right of Parliament, and the liberty of the subject; and the votes they passed on that occasion were afterwards agreed to by the House of Lords.§ The Commons did likewise pass a Bill for punishing and fining the members of the Convocation,|| wherein the Proctor for the chapter of Salisbury was fined £1,000;¶ but this Bill dropped in the House of Lords.

The earl of Clarendon gives us the following judicious account of those transactions: "The Convocation-House," says he, "(the regular and legal assembling of the clergy,) customarily beginning and ending with Parliaments, was, after the determination of the last, by a new writ continued, and sate for the space of above a month, under the proper title of a Synod; made canons, which was thought it might do; and gave subsidies out of Parliament, and enjoined oaths, which certainly it might not do; in a word, did many things which, in the best of times, might have been questioned; and, therefore, were sure to be

* NALSON'S "Impartial Collections of the great Affairs of State," &c., vol. i. p. 533, *et seq.* See also pp. 373, 374.

† *Ibid.*, p. 542, *et seq.*

‡ It began November 3d, 1640.

§ NALSON, vol. ii. pp. 285, 286.

|| On May 3d, 1641.

DR. NALSON, vol. ii. p. 260, says, it was June 3d.

¶ RUSHWORTH, vol. iv., *ad an.* 1641, p. 236.

condemned in the worst and drew the same prejudice upon the whole body of the clergy, to which before only some few clergymen were exposed." *

Mr. Chillingworth was likewise deputed to the Convocation which met the same year with the new Parliament, and was opened on November 4th.† But "there was no commission granted, and, therefore, no business proposed and, by the archbishop's imprisonment, the regular sessions broke off, the bishops discontinued their meeting, and the lower House by degrees dwindled away." ‡

The affairs of the king and the church began now to have a black and dismal aspect. The king endeavoured to remove all fears and jealousies by passing (February 15th, 1640-1) an "Act for the preventing of inconveniences happening by the long intermission of Parliament," § commonly called the "Triennial Act," because it was therein enacted, that every third year there should be a new Parliament, which could not be dissolved or prorogued within fifty days, at least, after the time appointed for their meeting, without the consent of both Houses, &c. And "upon His Majesty's passing this Bill for triennial Parliaments, both Houses were exceedingly full of joy, and agreed to join in waiting upon the king, in their returning their humble thanks for the same; and His Majesty appointed the banqueting-house

* "The History of the Rebellion," &c., book ii. tom. i. p. 148. In 8vo. † MSS., Wharton, *ubi supra*.

‡ "A complete History of England," &c., vol. iii., *ad an.* 1640, p. 114. Second Edition. § RUSHWORTH, tom. iv. part iii., *ad an.* 1640, fol. 188, 189.

at Whitehall to be the place for both Houses to meet, to return their thanks unto him; which was performed by the mouth of the Lord-Keeper, in the name of both Houses; and bonfires were made that night, and the bells rung for joy.”*

But the Parliament, it seems, could not be satisfied with this Act. Within less than three months’ time a Bill was brought in, entitled, “An Act to prevent the Inconveniences that may happen by the untimely Adjourning, Proroguing, and Dissolving the present Parliament;” importing, that this Parliament “should not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, unless it were by Act of Parliament to be passed for that purpose.”† Which was making the Parliament an independent body, in opposition to the king himself; or, to use the expression of a great man, “it was to remove the landmarks, and to destroy the foundation of the kingdom.”‡ And yet His Majesty gave his royal assent to that Bill, at the same time that the Bill of attainder of the earl of Strafford was passed; May 10th, 1641. But the fatal consequences of it were soon felt. The king was obliged to retire to York, (March 19th, 1641–2,) and the two Houses began now to treat with him, as with a discontented neighbouring prince. They ordered an army to be raised, under the command of the earl of Essex, July 12th: whereupon the king set up his standard at Nottingham, August 22d.§ And thus ensued a civil war.

* RUSHWORTH, *ibid.*, fol. 192, *verso*. † *Ibid.*, p. 264.

‡ CLARENDON, *ubi supra*, book iii. tom. i. p. 261. § RUSHWORTH, *ubi supra*, p. 783. The earl of Clarendon says, it was August 25th, book v. tom. ii. p. m. 720.

In the year 1642, Mr. Chillingworth was "put into the roll," with some other, "by His Majesty," to be created "Doctor of Divinity; but he came not to take that degree, nor was he diplomated." *

While the troops on both sides were taking and retaking towns, and fighting for their respective parties, there was another sort of combat carried on; which, though less dangerous to the lives of the persons who engaged in it, was not without effect; I mean, that prodigious number of sermons and pamphlets that were then published on each side; besides some, and those very few, wherein it was endeavoured to inspire moderation. Several ministers, countenanced by the Parliament, were continually animating the people, not only against episcopacy and the Liturgy, but also against the divines that approved some opinions and practices lately introduced into the church; charging them with Arminianism, (a name then odious,) Socinianism, and popery. Mr. Francis Cheynell, late Fellow of Merton College, made himself very remarkable that way. "He was," says Dr. Calamy, "a man of considerable learning and great abilities. In the beginning of the war he was mostly with the earl of Essex; and, when he was with him in Cornwall, he showed himself a very goodly person, of great strength, and undaunted courage; his commands were as readily obeyed by any colonels in that army, as the general's own." † This military divine preached seve-

* Wood, *Athens Oxon.*, vol. ii. col. 714. † "An Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, &c., who were ejected or silenced after the Restoration, in 1660," &c., p. 675. Second Edition. 8vo. London, 1713.

ral sermons before the Lords and Commons, and wrote some pamphlets, wherein he expressed no less zeal and bravery for the cause, than in the field.

In the year 1643 he came out with a tract, entitled, "The Rise, Growth, and Danger of Socinianism: together with a plain Discovery of a desperate Design of corrupting the Protestant Religion; whereby it appears, that the Religion which hath been so violently contended for, by the Archbishop of Canterbury* and his Adherents, is not the true, pure, Protestant Religion, but an Hotch-potch of Arminianism, Socinianism, and Popery. It is likewise made evident, that the Atheists, Anabaptists, and Sectaries so much complained of, have been raised or encouraged by the Doctrines and Practices of the Arminian, Socinian, and Popish Party." That pamphlet was printed by "order of the Committee of the House of Commons in Parliament concerning Printing," dated April 18th, 1643. Therein Mr. Cheynell charged several eminent divines of the church of England, especially the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Potter, Mr. Hales, and Mr. Chillingworth, with favouring Arminianism, Socinianism, and popery; and endeavoured to prove it from their books. I will give, in the Remarks, some account of his invectives against Mr. Chillingworth. (XLI.) Had he charged him only with being a strenuous assertor of episcopacy, and the king's interest, he had not misrepresented him: for such he was in fact, as will appear hereafter.

* The archbishop was then a prisoner in the Tower.

In the month of July following, (July 26th,) Bristol was taken by prince Rupert; and the king went thither to compose some differences between his principal officers, about the government of that place. It was then resolved to besiege Gloucester, a place about twenty miles from Bristol, and of great importance for His Majesty's service.

The siege began on August 10th; but it "proceeded very slowly: for though the army increased wonderfully there, by the access of forces from all quarters, yet the king had neither money nor materials requisite for a siege; and they in the town behaved themselves with great courage and resolution, and made many sharp and bold sallies upon the king's forces, and did more hurt commonly than they received; and many officers of name, besides common soldiers, were slain in the trenches and approaches; the governor* leaving nothing unperformed that became a vigilant commander." †

Mr. Chillingworth happened then to be in the king's army before Gloucester; ‡ and observing that they wanted materials to carry on the siege, he suggested the making of some engines, after the manner of the Roman *testudines cum pluteis*, in order to storm the place. "On Sunday, September 3d," says Mr. Rushworth, "the people, being at church in the town, were informed, that the besiegers had planted store of cannon-baskets at the east gate, within less than half musket-shot, and, it was believed, intended a battery

* Colonel Massey.
ubi supra, p. 341.

† CLARENDON, book vii. tom. iii.,
‡ See Remark XLII., p. 287.

there, upon the springing of their mine: where-upon the minister dismissed the congregation without a sermon; and they fell to lining the houses over the east gate, and making a strong breastwork across the East-gate-street. The king's forces, by the direction of Dr. Chillingworth, had provided certain engines, after the manner of the Roman *testudines cum pluteis*, wherewith they intended to assault the city between the south and west gates: they ran upon cart-wheels; with a blind of planks musket-proof, and holes for four musketeers to play out of, placed upon the axle-tree, to defend the musketeers and those that thrust it forwards; and carrying a bridge before it: the wheels were to fall into the ditch, and the end of the bridge to rest upon the town's breastworks; so making several complete bridges to enter the city. To prevent which, the besieged intended to have made another ditch out of the works, so that the wheels falling therein, the bridge would have fallen too short of their breastworks into their wet moat, and so frustrated that design." * (XLII.)

But whether the besieged would have been able to prevent the effect of Mr. Chillingworth's machines, is uncertain: for before that design could be put in execution, the earl of Essex marched with his army to the relief of the town, and was by that time within view of the besiegers, who were obliged to raise the siege, September 5th.

The next month, the king being at Oxford, Mr.

* Vol. ii. part iii., *ad an.* 1643, tom. vi. p. m. 288, 289.

Chillingworth preached before His Majesty, at the public fast, a sermon, which was afterwards published by His Majesty's command. (XLIII.) He took for his text these words of the second Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy: "This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come. For men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boast-ers, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection, trucebreakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good, traitors, heady, highminded, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God; having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof." (2 Tim. iii. 1—5.)

This sermon is not only remarkable for that strength of reason which seems to have been our author's peculiar talent, but also for the eloquent addresses, pathetic and affectionate exhortations, whereby he endeavours to enforce the practice of virtue and piety. And, what is esteemed the perfection of such performances, the Christian orator appears everywhere expressing the inward suggestions of his heart, and sensibly touched with the excellency and necessity of the great truths and duties he recommends.* The two following passages may give the reader a notion of the whole piece.

After having represented and deplored the

**Si vis me flere, dolendum est*

Primum ipsi tibi.—HORAT. *De Arte Poeticâ*, v. 102, 103,

The following is Francis's translation of this passage :

"If you would have me laugh, begin the strain,

Then I shall feel your sorrows, feel your pain."—EDMR.

general corruption of Christians, in contempt of the holy writs, Mr. Chillingworth applies it to the present occasion : "To come a little nearer to the business of our times," says he : "the chief actors in this bloody tragedy which is now upon the stage, who have robbed our sovereign lord the king of his forts, towns, treasure, ammunition, houses ; of the persons of many of his subjects ; and, as much as lies in them, of the hearts of all of them : is it credible that they know, and remember, and consider, the example of David, recorded for their instruction?—'whose heart smote him when he had cut off the hem of Saul's garment.' (1 Sam. xxiv. 11.)

"They that make no scruple at all of fighting with His Sacred Majesty, and shooting muskets and ordnance at him, (which, sure, have not the skill to choose a subject from a king,) to the extreme hazard of his sacred person, whom, by all possible obligations, they are bound to defend ; do they know, think you, the general rule, without exception or limitation, left by the Holy Ghost for our direction in all such cases?—'Who can lift up his hand against the Lord's anointed, and be innocent?' (1 Sam. xxvi. 9.) Or do they consider his command in the Proverbs of Solomon?—'My son, fear God and the king ; and meddle not with them that desire change.' (Prov. xxiv. 21.) Or his counsel in the Book of Ecclesiastes?—'I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God.' (Eccles. viii. 2.) Or, because they possibly may pretend that they are exempted from, or unconcerned in, the commands of obedience delivered in the Old

Testament, do they know and remember the precept given to all Christians by St. Peter?—‘ Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake : whether it be to the king, as supreme ; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him.’ (1 Peter ii. 13.) Or that terrible sanction of the same command?—‘ They that resist shall receive to themselves damnation ;’ (Rom. xiii. 2 ;) left us by St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans ; who then were the miserable subjects of the worst king, the worst man ; nay, I think, I may add truly, the worst beast in the world ; that so all rebels’ mouths might be stopped for ever, and left without all colour or pretence whatsoever to justify resistance of sovereign power. Undoubtedly, if they did know, and consider, and lay close to their hearts, these places of scripture, or the fearful judgment which befell Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, (Num. xvi. 32,) for this very sin which now they commit, and, with a high hand, still proceed in ; it would be impossible but their hearts should smite them, (as David’s did, upon an infinitely less occasion,) and affright them out of those ways of present confusion and eternal damnation. And then, on the other side : they that maintain the king’s righteous cause with the hazard of their lives and fortunes,—but, by their oaths and curses, by their drunkenness and debauchery, by their irreligion and profaneness, fight more powerfully against their party, than by all other means they do or can fight for it,—are not, I fear, very well acquainted with any part of the Bible ; but that strict caution which properly concerns themselves in the Book of Deuteronomy,

I much doubt they have scarce ever heard of it :
‘ When thou goest to wars with thine enemies,
then take heed there be no wicked thing in thee ;’
(Deut. xxiii. 9 ;) not only no wickedness in the
cause thou maintainest, nor no wickedness in the
means by which thou maintainest it, but no personal
impieties in the persons that maintain it. Beloved,
for the former two we have reason to be full of comfort
and confidence : for what is our cause ? What is that
which you fight, and we pray, for ; but to deliver the king
and all his good subjects out of the power of their enemies,
who will have no peace but with their slaves and vassals ?
And for the means by which it is maintained, it is not
by lying, it is not by calumnies, it is not by running
first ourselves, and then forcing the people, to universal
perjury ; but by a just war, because necessary ; and by
as fair and merciful a war as if they were not rebels and
traitors you fight against, but competitors in a doubtful
title. But now for the third part of the caution, that,—
to deal ingenuously with you, and to deliver my own
soul, if I cannot other men’s,—that I cannot think of
with half so much comfort as the former ; but seeing so
many Jonahs embarked in the same ship, the same cause
with us, and so many Achans entering into battle with
us against the Canaanites ; seeing publicans and sinners
on the one side, against scribes and pharisees on the
other ; on the one side hypocrisy, on the other profaneness ;
no honesty nor justice on the one side, and very little
piety on the other ; on the one side horrible oaths,
curses, and blasphemies, on the other pestilent

lies, calumnies, and perjury : when I see amongst them the pretence of reformation, if not the desire, pursued by antichristian, Mahometan, devilish, means ; and amongst us little or no zeal for reformation of what is indeed amiss, little or no care to remove the cause of God's anger towards us, by just, lawful, and Christian means ; I profess plainly, I cannot without trembling consider what is likely to be the event of these distractions : I cannot but fear that the goodness of our cause may sink under the burden of our sins ; and that God in his justice, because we will not suffer his judgments to achieve their prime scope and intention, which is our amendment and reformation, may either deliver us up to the blind zeal and fury of our enemies, or else (which I rather fear) make us instruments of his justice each against other, and of our own just and deserved confusion. This, I profess plainly, is my fear ; and I would to God it were likewise the fear of every soldier in His Majesty's army ; but that which increaseth my fear is, that I see very many of them have very little or none at all ; I mean not, that they are fearless towards their enemies, (that is our joy and triumph,) but that they show their courage even against God, and fear not him whom it is madness not to fear. Now, from whence can their not fearing him proceed, but from their not knowing him, their not knowing his will and their own duty ? not knowing how highly it concerns soldiers, above other professions, to be religious ? and then, if ever, when they are engaged in dangerous adventures, and every moment have their

lives in their hands ; 'when they go to war with their enemies ; then to take heed there be no wicked thing in them.' " *

And in the conclusion : " Let me entreat you," says he, " to consider the fearful judgment which God hath particularly threatened to this very sin of 'drawing nigh unto him with our lips, when our hearts are far from him : ' it is the great judgment of being given over to 'the spirit of slumber and security,' the usual forerunner of speedy desolation and destruction, as we may see in Isaiah : 'Stay yourselves, and wonder ; cry ye out, and cry : they are drunken, but not with wine ; they stagger, but not with strong drink. For the Lord hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes : the prophets and your rulers, the seers hath he covered : ' (Isaiah xxix. 9, 10 :) and after : 'The wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid.' (Verse 14.) Certainly this judgment, if ever it were upon any people, we have cause to fear it is now upon us. For if 'the spirit of deep sleep' were not upon us, how could we sleep so securely, even upon the brink of the pit of perdition ? how could we proceed on so confidently in our mirth and jollity, nay, in our crying sins and horrible impieties, now when the hand of God is upon us, and wrath is gone out, and even ready to consume us ? And if the wisdom of our wise men were not perished, how were it possible they should so obstinately

* " A Sermon preached at the Public Fast, before His Majesty, at Christ-Church in Oxford," &c., pp. 11—14, of the true Oxford edition, 1644. See Remark XLIII.

refuse the security offered of our laws, liberties, and religion,—by the king's oath ; by his execrations on himself and his posterity, in case he should violate it ; by the oaths of all his ministers, not to consent to, or be instruments in, such a violation ;—by the so-much-desired triennial Parliament, from which no transgressor can possibly be secure ; and, instead of all this security, seek for it by a civil war, the continuance whereof must bring us to destruction and desolation ? or else He hath deceived us by whom we are taught, that 'a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand.'” (Matt. xxiii. 25.) *

Soon after Mr. Chillingworth's death, the king ordered that sermon to be printed ; † and this is the only sermon of his that was published before the Restoration. (XLIV.)

* “A Sermon,” &c., pp. 28, 29.
XLIII., p. 289.

† See Remark

REMARKS.

XL.—PAGE 266.

He then complied with the usual subscription, as it appears by the subscription-book of the church of Salisbury—Dr. Sayer, that ingenious and learned civilian, hath been pleased to procure me the following account of that book :—

“The order and method of the subscription-book, in which Mr. Chillingworth hath subscribed, and of such his subscription therein, you will find underneath.

“1. The oath of supremacy.

"2. The oath of allegiance.

"3. The oath against simony.

"4. The oath of continual residence.

"5. The oath of canonical obedience.

"6. The three articles contained in the thirty-sixth of king James's canons.

"7. One single subscription made in these words; namely, *Ego Robertus Bonython, Clericus, in Artibus Magister, Rector de Wolhampton, admittendus ad Vicariam de Thatcham una cum, &c. in Comitatu Berks, libens et ex animo hisce tribus Articulis suprascriptis subscribo, ultimo die Maii, anno Domini 1622.**

"8. Six pages of blank paper.

"9. The Thirty-nine Articles agreed on by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy, in the Convocation holden at London, in the year 1562: printed.

"10. The subscriptions of persons instituted and ordained from November 18th, 1621, to the time of Mr. Chillingworth's subscribing; who all subscribed in these words; namely, *Omnibus hisce Articulis, singulisque in iisdem contentis, volens (libens) et ex animo subscribo, consensumque meum iisdem præbeo.†*

"11. Mr. Chillingworth's subscription, made in the words following; namely, *Ego Gulielmus Chillingworth, Clericus, in Artibus Magister, ad Cancellariatum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Beatæ Mariæ Sarum, una cum Præbendâ de Brixworth, aliâs Bricklesworth, in Comitatu Northampton, Petriburgensis Diocæseos in eâdem Ecclesiâ fundata et eidem Cancellariatu annexa, admittendus et instituendus, omnibus*

* "I Robert Bonython, Clerk, Master of Arts, rector of Wolhampton, [in order] to be admitted to the vicarage of Thatcham with, &c., in the county of Berks, do willingly and from my heart subscribe the above-written three articles, this last day of May, in the year of our Lord 1622."—EDIT.

† "To all these articles, and to every thing contained in them, I do voluntarily and from my heart subscribe, and give my consent to the same."—EDIT.

hisce Articulis et singulis in iisdem contentis volens et ex animo subscribo, et consensum meum eidem præbeo, 20 die Julii, 1638.

GULIELMUS CHILLINGWORTH.*

"12. Subscriptions of other persons instituted and ordained, from the said July 20th, 1638, to August 5th, 1640, standing in a regular course and order, who subscribed in the same form of words.

"13. Some irregularly-placed miscellaneous subscriptions.

"These are the whole contents of the book, from, &c." †

And now it is evident, Mr. Chillingworth did actually subscribe, and that in the legal form; ‡ both which have been doubted of by several persons. It hath even been positively affirmed, that he never subscribed. § The lord bishop of Bangor, now lord bishop of Salisbury, supposes that Mr. Chillingworth, in his book against Mr. Knott, "openly professes that he could not in conscience subscribe to the Articles of the church;" and yet we have seen he declares there, that he is "ready to subscribe." || However, from this supposition, his lordship concludes, that Mr. Chillingworth's enjoying a preferment in the church, without subscribing, was an effect of "the particular favour which the great churchmen of those days" had for him, as a "convert" from the church of Rome.

* "I William Chillingworth, Clerk, Master of Arts, [in order] to be admitted and instituted to the Chancellorship of the cathedral church of St. Mary of Salisbury, together with the prebend of Brixworth, *alias* Bricklesworth, in the county of Northampton and the diocese of Peterborough, founded in the same church and annexed to the same Chancellorship, do willingly and from my heart subscribe to all these articles and to every one contained in the same, and give my assent to the same, this twentieth day of July, 1638. WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH."—EDIT.

† A letter from Mr. Frome, to Dr. Exton Sayer, dated "Sarum, March 28th, 1721." I have the original in my hands.

‡ See the text, p. 80.

§ Mr. Knott affirms it, in his "Infidelity Unmasked," chap. i. sect. xxiv. p. 56.

|| See Remark XXV. III., p. 175.

"Mr. Chillingworth," says he, "was a convert from popery.....But when he returned from popery, he was so far from being a convert to the church of England, that, in his famous defence of the protestant religion, he openly declares, he does not undertake the defence of that or any other church, in particular, but the general principles and whole cause of protestantism. Nay, he there openly professes, that he could not in conscience subscribe to the Articles of the church; nor could he have enjoyed any preferment in it, but by the particular favour of the great churchmen of those days; who.....had the wisdom and generosity not to crush and ruin, but support and encourage, a convert, though he did not agree with them, even in some of their darling notions.

"One of Mr. Chillingworth's scruples was about the Athanasian Creed; not only the damnatory clauses, but the doctrine itself, contained in it: to which he could not subscribe. I have seen two letters under his own hand: one, if not both, to Dr. Sheldon, his great friend; the same who was afterwards archbishop. In one, he particularly explains some of his sentiments entirely different from the orthodox; and endeavours to support them by the earliest antiquity: in the other, he blesses God that no allurement, no offer of preferment, no importunity of his best friends, could prevail upon him to make his conscience uneasy by subscribing the Articles; the doing of which, he thinks, would have rendered his whole life uncomfortable. And in this resolution, though attended with worldly inconveniences, he rejoices in such strains of triumph, as if the greatest of this world's honours and preferments had just then been heaped upon him." *

And, some pages lower, his lordship says again, that

* "A Letter to Dr. Snape," prefixed before Mr. Pilloniere's "Reply to Dr. Snape's Vindication of a Passage in his Second Letter to the Bishop of Bangor, relating to Mr. Pilloniere," &c., pp. xliii., xliv. London, 1718.

"Mr. Chillingworth, after his re-conversion, with all his avowed freedom of principles, and with all his professed scruples against subscribing even to all the creeds of the church, found sense, and honour, and wisdom enough in the most zealous men of the church of England, to meet with encouragement, approbation, and allowances, beyond what was usual, even in the case of those who had ever been protestants, and members of the church." *

All which, as we have seen, is contrary to matter of fact.†

As to what his lordship asserts, that Mr. Chillingworth had scruples about the doctrine of the Athanasian Creed (which he must ground upon his letter concerning subscription); and that, in the other letter, relating to Arianism, "he particularly explains some of his sentiments entirely different from the orthodox, and endeavours to support them by the earliest antiquity;" ‡ I shall only refer the reader to the letters themselves, and to what I have already observed on that occasion. §

XII.—PAGE 271.

I will give some account of his invectives against Mr. Chillingworth—In the fourth chapter, which bears this title, "Whether England hath been, or still is, in danger to be farther infected with Socinianism," he hath this fling at Mr. Chillingworth: "It is well known," says he, "that the archbishop did highly favour, and frequently employ, men shrewdly suspected for Socinianism. Mr. Chillingworth, to speak modestly, hath been too patient, being so

* *Ibid.*, p. lii. † See the Appendix, Remark LXIII. ‡ His lordship says elsewhere, that Mr. Chillingworth "wrote in defence of the Arian doctrine." See his "Short Remarks upon Dr. Snape's Letter to Mr. Mill's Book," prefixed to Mr. Pilloniere's "Third Defence," &c., p. xiii. § See the text, pp. 97, 46; and Remark xv., p. 67.

deeply charged by Knott for his inclining towards some Socinian tenets: no man, in St. Jerome's opinion, ought to be patient in such a case; and sure no innocent man would be patient.* Mr. Chillingworth hath not yet answered 'Christianity maintained.' The protestants do not own many of those principles which are scattered in Mr. Chillingworth's book; and Knott could observe that he proceeded in a destructive way, just as the Socinians do. The Reformed churches abroad wonder that we could find no better a champion among all our worthies; they who travelled hither out of foreign parts blessed themselves when they saw so much froth and grounds, so much Arminianism and vanity, in Mr. Chillingworth's admired piece. What doth it advantage the protestants' cause, if the pope be deposed from his infallible chair, and reason enthroned, that Socinianism may be advanced?"†

This rambling, abusive way of writing runs through Mr. Cheynell's whole pamphlet. And so he finds Arminianism, Socinianism, and even popery, in the second edition of the archbishop's book against Fisher; in Dr. Potter's answer to Knott, &c.; and particularly in Mr. Chillingworth's "Religion of the Protestants," &c.

In the sixth chapter, wherein he undertakes to prove, that "the religion so violently contended for by the archbishop of Canterbury and his adherents is not the true, pure protestant religion;" that is, the true, rigid Calvinism; he falls upon Mr. Chillingworth. "Mr. Chillingworth," says he, "proves undeniably that the church of Rome is not infallible; but to what end and purpose?

* *Spreta haud exolescet ejusmodi calumnia, sed agnita videbitur apud nimis malos, aut nimis credulos, aut minus amicos.*—*Vind. C. BARLÆI*, p. 7. ["If a calumny of this kind be despised, it will not on that account vanish or be forgotten; but *silence* will be interpreted into acknowledgment by such as are very wicked, or very credulous, or by such as are not too friendly."—*EDIT.*] † "The Rise, Growth, and Danger of Socinianism," &c., pp. 34, 35.

Why, that Rome and Canterbury may shake hands, the pope may abate something in point of supremacy, his primacy being grounded upon his infallibility ; but if the pope, cardinals, &c., the archbishop of Canterbury and his adherents were united, the people would be unwilling to part with their mass : why, for that if they will but yield thus far, as to turn their mass into English, the good men are agreed ; for Mr. Chillingworth tells the papists, that no ‘godly layman,’ (that is, an ignorant papist, that is well-conceited of the mass,) ‘who is verily persuaded that there is neither impiety nor superstition in the use of their Latin service, shall be damned, as he hopes, for being present at it.’ * Excellent divinity ! A strong persuasion will turn superstition and impiety into godliness. Yet he saith, there is some danger as long as the service is in Latin, because the want of that devotion, which the frequent hearing the offices understood might happily beget in them, the want of that instruction and edification which it might afford them, may very probably hinder the salvation of many, which otherwise might have been saved ; that is, might have been saved, if the service had been in English : this is plain dealing,—the men are likely to agree,—the mass in English may beget such devotion, afford such instruction and edification, as is sufficient for salvation. Can the papists desire fairer quarter, or a fuller acknowledgment ? Is not this doctrine sufficient to effect an accommodation between Rome and Canterbury ? I dare say, all the papists in England will fight for such a protestant religion.” †

And in order to show how dangerous are Mr. Chillingworth’s principles, he sets down, and animadverts upon, some of them. “I cannot stand,” says he, ‡ “to reckon

* Mr. Chillingworth’s “Answer to the Preface of ‘Charity Maintained,’” sect. vii. p. 9.

† “The Rise, Growth, and Danger

of Socinianism,” &c., p. 71.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 71—73.

up Mr. Chillingworth's principles : consider these that follow :—

"1. God is not 'offended with us for not doing what he knows we cannot do.'

"2. Mr. Chillingworth is verily persuaded, that 'God will not impute errors to them as sins, who use such a measure of industry in finding truth, as human prudence and ordinary discretion (their abilities and opportunities, their distractions and hinderances, and all other things considered) shall advise them unto, in a matter of such consequence.' *

"3. Mr. Chillingworth thinks it sufficient to believe all those books of scripture to be God's word, of whose authority there was never any doubt made in the church : he cannot, in reason, believe the other books so undoubtedly as those books which were never questioned ; and he hath the example of saints in heaven to justify or excuse his doubting, nay, his denial." † Mr. Cheynell misrepresents here Mr. Chillingworth, and perverts his meaning.

"4. It is enough to believe, by a kind of implicit faith, that the scripture is true in God's own sense and meaning, though you know not what God meant, if you use such industry as ordinary discretion shall advise for the knowing of God's meaning." ‡ Mr. Chillingworth is here again misrepresented : and these few passages are sufficient to give a notion of Mr. Cheynell and his pamphlet.

XLII.—PAGE 273.

And so frustrated their design—I believe Mr. Rushworth took these particulars, concerning Mr. Chillingworth's engines, out of the "Relation of the Siege of Gloucester," written by Mr. Corbet, a famous presbyterian minister,

* "The Answer to the Preface," p. 19. In the same preface. The second preface, p. 19.

† Cap. ii. sect. xxxviii. p. 64.

‡ "The Answer to the Preface," sect. 26.

who was then chaplain to colonel Massey, governor of Gloucester. I have not seen that Relation ; but I find the same engines mentioned in another piece of Mr. Corbet, entitled, "An historical Relation of the military Government of Gloucester, from the Beginning of the civil War, between King and Parliament, to the Removal of Colonel Massey from that Government to the Command of the western Forces." London, 1645, 4to. "Besides their mine and battery," says he, "they [the besiegers] framed great store of those unperfect and troublesome engines to assault the lower parts of the city. Those engines ran upon wheels, with planks, musket-proof, placed on the axletree, with holes for musket-shot, and a bridge before it, the end whereof (the wheels falling into the ditch) was to rest upon our breastworks." *

Now, that Mr. Chillingworth was actually in that siege, this appears by the answer of bishop Barlow to a letter of one of his friends, which had "quoted a book of Mr. Corbet, mentioning Mr. Chillingworth very unworthily, namely, 'The Relation of the Siege of Gloucester,' where, in page 12, he saith, 'We understood that the enemy,' that is, the army of king Charles I., 'had, by the direction of the Jesuitical Dr. Chillingworth, provided great store of engines, after the manner of the Roman *testudines cum pluteis*, with which they intended to have assaulted the parts of the city,' between the south and west gates, &c."† To which the bishop returns the following answer: "For Mr. Chillingworth," says he, "none ever questioned his loyalty to his king: what Corbet (in his book you mention) writes of him, that he was in the siege of Gloucester, in the king's army, assisting it to take the city, is a great commendation of his loyalty and truth; for I know Mr. Chillingworth was there in the siege (but whether as a chaplain or assistant only, I know not). For going thither

* "An historical Relation," &c., p. 51.
Remains of Dr. Thomas Barlow," &c., p. 344.

† "The genuine

to see sir William Waller, my good friend, who was a commander there, I did also see Mr. Chillingworth amongst the *commanders* there." *

XLIII.—PAGE 279.

Mr. Chillingworth preached before His Majesty, at the public fast, a sermon, which was afterwards printed by His Majesty's command—It was printed at Oxford, in 1644, with this title: "A Sermon preached at the public Fast, before His Majesty, at Christ-Church, in Oxford. By William Chillingworth. Published by Command since his Death." In 4to., pp. 30. In order to understand what is meant by "the public fast," we must observe, that on January 8th, 1641-2, the king appointed a "general fast," to be kept "on the last Wednesday of every month, during the troubles of the kingdom of Ireland."† But, finding that the parliamentary divines took an advantage of these public meetings, to move and stir up the people against the royal cause, in their prayers and sermons, His Majesty, who had retired to Oxford, did, October 8th, 1643, forbid continuing that monthly fast any longer; and, at the same time, ordered, that, for the future, another "general fast" should be held "on the second Friday in every month."‡ In consequence of that order, Mr. Chillingworth preached his sermon; probably on October 13th, which was the second Friday in that month.

I have another edition of that sermon, with this title: "A Sermon preached before His Majesty at Reading, by William Chillingworth;" in 4to., pp. 25; and in the title it is said to be printed at Oxford, in the year 1644; but as that above mentioned is certainly the original edition, this seems to have been procured privately at London, by some person well-affected to the king.

* *Ibid.*, p. 346.
p. 494, *ad an.* 1641.

† See RUSHWORTH'S "Collections," vol v.
‡ *Idem*, vol. vi. p. 364, *ad an.* 1644.

This is the only sermon of his that was published before the Restoration—His other sermons, with this prefixed before them, were printed in the year 1664,* with this title: “Nine Sermons: the first preached before His Majesty King Charles I.; the other eight upon special and eminent Occasions.” The publisher tells us, in a short advertisement, that “these sermons were, by the godly and learned author of them, fitted to the congregations to which he was to speak; and, no doubt, intended only for the benefit of hearers, not of readers. Nevertheless, it was the desire of many that they might be published, upon the hope of good that might be done to the church of God by them. There is need,” pursues he, “of plain instructions to incite men to holiness of life, as well as accurate treatises in points controverted, to discern truth from error; for which end I dare promise these sermons will make much, where they find an honest and humble reader. It was the author’s greatest care (as you may find in the reading of them) ‘to handle the word of God by manifestation of the truth, commending himself to every man’s conscience in the sight of God;’ as once St. Paul pleaded for himself, 2 Cor. iv. 2. And if that be the property (which they say) of an eloquent and good speaker, *non ex ore, sed ex pectore*, ‘to speak from his heart, rather than his tongue,’ then surely this author was an excellent orator, one that spake out of sound understanding, with true affection.”

The first sermon, “preached before the king,”† is not reprinted here from the Oxford edition, which is the most perfect; but from the other impression, mentioned in the foregoing Remark. And the editor takes no notice of its having been printed already, nor upon what special and

* See Remark xxxiv., p. 237.

† See the text, p. 274.

eminent occasions this and the other eight sermons were preached. These are :—

2. On Psalm xiv. 1 : “The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God :” preached on a communion-day.

3. On the same text.

4. On Luke ix. 23 : “Let him deny himself.”

5. On Rom. viii. 34 : “Who is he that condemneth ? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again :” preached on Easter-day.

6. On Luke xvi. 9 : “Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness ; that, when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations.”

7. On Luke xix. 8 : “And if I have defrauded any man by forged cavillation, I restore unto him fourfold.”

8. Gal. v. 5 : “For we through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith :” preached on the feast of Epiphany.

9. 1 Cor. x. 13 : “God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able.”

These sermons, as the publisher justly observes, were “fitted” by the author “to the congregations to which he was to speak, and intended only for the benefit of hearers, not of readers ;” but yet a judicious reader may soon perceive that they come from a masterly hand. He will find in them a noble simplicity, attended with sublime and exalted thoughts ; and a constant, unfeigned zeal for the glory of God, and the good of men’s souls. As an instance of this, I shall transcribe here what he says concerning that vile, barbarous, unchristian practice of duelling, in his sixth sermon. His text was, “Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness,” &c. ; and, in the second part of it, in a digression, he makes the following pathetic exhortation :—

“But before I quit myself,” says he, “and ease you of further prosecution of this point, I shall desire you all to suffer one word of exhortation ; and if there be any here

whom it may more nearly concern. I beseech them, even by the bowels of Jesus Christ, that they will suffer too a word of most necessary reproof. And though what I shall say doth not naturally flow from the words in hand, yet they bear a reasonable resemblance and proportion with them : so pertinent, I am sure, they are to the auditory to whom I speak, that I would choose rather quite to lose my text, than here to leave them unaid.

“It is about making friends too : indeed, not with ‘the mammon of unrighteousness ;’ no, that is a trifle to it. It is about making friends with not revenging of injuries ; with patient bearing, and willing forgiving, of offences : a duty so seriously, so incessantly, sometimes in plain words, sometimes in parables, all manner of ways, upon all occasions, urged by our Saviour, that we cannot so much as pray, but we must be forced to acknowledge obedience to this law,—‘Forgive us,’ ‘as we forgive :’ yea, so boundlessly, and without all restrictions or reservations, is it enjoined, that when as Peter thought it fair to have it limited to a certain number, and proposed seven, as, in his opinion, reasonable and convenient ; ‘No,’ says our Saviour, ‘forgive not until seven times, but until four hundred fourscore and ten times :’ and if he could have imagined that it were possible for a man to have exceeded even this number also in injuries, without question he would not have left there neither.

“But how is this doctrine received in the world ? What counsel would men, and those none of the worst sort, give thee in such case ? How would the soberest, discreetest, well-bred Christians advise thee ? Why thus : ‘If thy brother, or thy neighbour, have offered thee an injury or an affront,—*forgive him* ? By no means ! thou art utterly undone, and lost in thy reputation with the world, if thou dost forgive him.’ ‘What is to be donè then ?’ ‘Why, let not thy heart take rest, let all other business and employment be laid aside, till thou hast his blood.’

‘How? a man’s blood for an injurious, passionate speech? for a disdainful look?’ ‘Nay, that is not all: that thou mayest gain amongst men the reputation of a discreet, well-tempered murderer, be sure thou killest him not in passion, when thy blood is hot and boiling with the provocation; but proceed with as great temper and settledness of reason, with as much discretion and preparedness, as thou wouldst to the communion. After some several days’ respite, that it may appear it is thy reason guides thee, and not thy passion, invite him mildly and courteously into some retired place, and there let it be determined,—whether his blood or thine shall satisfy the injury.’

“O thou holy Christian religion! whence is it that thy children have sucked this inhuman, poisonous blood; these raging, fiery spirits? For if we shall inquire of the heathen, they will say, ‘They have not learned this from us;’ or the Mahometan, they will answer, ‘We are not guilty of it.’ Blessed God! that it should become a most sure, settled course for a man to run into danger and disgrace with the world, if he shall dare to perform a commandment of Christ; which is as necessary for him to do, if he have any hopes of attaining heaven, as meat and drink is for the maintaining of life! That ever it should enter into Christian hearts to walk so curiously and exactly contrary unto the ways of God! That whereas He sees himself every day and hour almost contemned and despised by thee who art his servant, his creature; upon whom He might, without all possible imputation of unrighteousness, pour down the vials of his wrath and indignation; yet He, notwithstanding, is patient and long-suffering towards thee, hoping that his long-suffering may lead thee to repentance, and beseeching thee daily by his ministers to be reconciled unto him. And yet thou, on the other side, for a distempered, passionate speech, or less, shouldest take upon thee to send thy neighbour’s soul, or thine own, or likely both, clogged and oppressed with all your sins unrepented of,

(for how can repentance possibly consist with such a resolution?) before the tribunal-seat of God, to expect your final sentence; utterly depriving thyself of all the blessed means which God hath contrived for thy salvation, and putting thyself in such an estate, that it shall not be in God's power almost to do thee any good! Pardon, I beseech you, my earnestness, almost intemperateness, seeing it hath proceeded from so just, so warrantable a ground. And since it is in your power to give rules of honour and reputation to the whole kingdom, do not you teach others to be ashamed of this inseparable badge of your religion,—charity and forgiving of offences: give men leave to be Christians, without danger or dishonour: or, if religion will not work with you, yet let the laws of that state wherein you live, the earnest desires and care of your righteous prince, prevail with you.”*

Mr. Chillingworth was highly offended at this abominable practice, which is peculiar to the Christians only, and gives pagans, Turks, and infidels occasion to upbraid them as the most immoral of all men. And it must be confessed, that their Christianity is so different from the true, holy principles of Jesus Christ, that they have hardly any thing from him except the name of Christians. Mr. Chillingworth was so shocked at this extravagant custom, that he took all convenient opportunities to exclaim against it; as appears, likewise, by his third sermon,† wherein he hath most of the same expressions above recited. But I must observe here, that there are several inaccuracies of style in them, which are so gross, that they cannot be attributed to him.

The publisher of these sermons hath indeed done the part of a pious man, but not of a critic. He does not tell us whether they are printed from Mr. Chillingworth's own manuscript, or only from a transcript; and if so, every

* Sixth Sermon, &c., sect. 33—36. Edit. 1664.

† Sect. 38, 39.

body knows how such transcripts may be vitiated, or even interpolated. We ought, therefore, to make great allowances in this case in behalf of the author, and forbear passing any rash judgment upon him with respect to these imperfect remains.

XVI. THE SCOTCH JOIN THE ENGLISH REPUBLICANS; AND JUSTIFY THE ACT OF BEARING ARMS AGAINST THEIR SOVEREIGN BY VARIOUS PAMPHLETS, TO WHICH CHILLINGWORTH WRITES REPLIES. THE JUSTIFICATION OF HIS CONDUCT. LIST OF HIS UNPUBLISHED WORKS. PUBLICATION OF HIS "APOSTOLICAL INSTITUTION OF EPISCOPACY." CORRECTION OF DR. WALKER'S MISTAKE CONCERNING ANOTHER PERSON OF THE NAME OF CHILLINGWORTH, A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE Parliament, having been alarmed by the success of the king's forces, called the Scotch to their assistance; and they sent an army into England, in the beginning of the year 1643-4. But some time before it marched, several declarations were published in Scotland, endeavouring to justify that attempt; such as, "A Declaration of Reasons for assisting the Parliament of England against the papist and prelatical Army. By the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland." "A short Declaration of the Kingdom of Scotland," relating to their intended advance into England.

"The Declaration of the Convention of the Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland, concerning this present Expedition."

Mr. Chillingworth, having read these papers, thought it might be of some advantage to the king's interest to answer them. He therefore extracted several passages out of the Scotch Declarations, and made observations upon them, in order to write a treatise against the Scots. He examined, also, the general question of resistance to princes, and maintained "the unlawfulness of resisting the lawful Prince, although most impious, tyrannical, and idolatrous." But these pieces have not been, as yet, printed. (xlv.)*

While our author was thus asserting the king's cause, he received a letter from one of his friends; who, being acquainted with his design, endeavoured to dissuade him from pursuing it; but he returned the following answer:—†

"SIR,

"CONSIDER the bloody effects of railing tongues in the murder of the D. of B.;‡ and tell me whether there be not cause to fear, that, if blasphemous mouths be not stopped, violent hands will not be restrained from bringing forth of such tragical examples.

"But though this were just, and fit, and neces-

* See Remark xlv. at the end of this section, p. 301.

† For this letter I am indebted to the lord bishop of Peterborough, who prefixed before his transcript of it the following words: "*Orig. in Collectan. MSS., fol., vol. i. p. 925, penes D. Tho. Archp. Cantuar.*" See Remark xlv., p. 301.

‡ The duke of Buckingham.

sary, to be done, why should I be so pragmatical? Why should I do more than any man? Which speech is not much unlike a speech of a cardinal in Luther's time: That it was fit and necessary the church should be reformed; but what had Luther, a paltry friar, to do with it? Better quite undone, than he should do it. But I think, rather better any man do it, than it should be left undone. All are equally bound to discharge their duty to God; all have equally a part in their prince's and country's welfare. And if I have been stout and courageous, when others have been cold and cowardly, I think their faintness should rather commend than condemn my forwardness: *Quòd ausus sim bonus esse in malis temporibus*.*

"And thus, good Sir, have I told what I have done, and why. I would now tell you what I have suffered in it, (XLVI.) and likewise say something to the other part of your letter; but being to preach at St. Mary's shortly, and lately chosen Philosopher-Reader in our College, I am even oppressed with multitude of business; and, therefore, for this time I leave you, and rest

"Your truly honest friend," &c.

Mr. Chillingworth's zeal for the church of England was equal to his loyalty to the king. He wrote a small tract, to show, that "episcopacy is not repugnant to the government settled in the church for perpetuity by the apostles." The occasion was this: Dr. Morton, bishop of Durham,

* "Because in evil days I have dared to be good."—
EDIT.

having composed a treatise, entitled, "The Judgment of Protestant Divines of remote Churches, as well such as were the first Reformers of Religion, as others after them, in behalf of episcopal Degree in the Church ;" his manuscript was sent to archbishop Usher, who was then at Oxford ; and he published it without the author's name to it, and knowledge of it,* under the title of "Confessions and Proofs of Protestant Divines of Reformed Churches, that Episcopacy is, in Respect of the Office, according to the Word of God ; and, in Respect of the Use, the best." The learned primate added to it a brief treatise of his own, with his name prefixed before it, "touching the original of bishops and metropolitans." And, in order to complete that collection, Mr. Chillingworth furnished him with the aforesaid tract ; which, being subjoined to the other two, as a conclusion, was entitled, "The Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy ; deduced out of the Premises by W. C." This little piece hath been reprinted several times, and I do not find any thing was published against it till of late. (XLVII.) But whether it may be easily confuted, the reader will judge by the ensuing passages :—

"If we abstract from episcopal government," says Mr. Chillingworth, "all accidentals, and consider only what is essential and necessary to it, we shall find in it no more but this : an appointment of one man, of eminent sanctity and sufficiency, to have the caré of all the churches within

* "The Life of Thomas, lord bishop of *Duresme*." By Dr. John Barwick. P. 137.

a certain precinct or diocese, and furnishing him with authority, not absolute or arbitrary, but regulated and bounded by laws, and moderated by joining to him a convenient number of assistants; to the intent, that all the churches under him may be provided of good and able pastors; and that, both of pastors and people, conformity to the laws, and performance of their duties, may be required, under penalties not left to discretion, but by law appointed.

“To this kind of government,” pursues he, “I am not by any particular interest so devoted, as to think it ought to be maintained either in opposition to apostolic institution, or to the much-desired reformation of men’s lives, and restoration of primitive discipline, or to any law or precept of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; for that were to maintain a means contrary to the end: for obedience to our Saviour is the end for which church government is appointed. But if it may be demonstrated, or made much more probable than the contrary, as I verily think it may, 1. That it is not repugnant to the government settled in and for the church by the apostles; 2. That it is as compliable with the reformation of any evil which we desire to reform either in church or state, or the introduction of any good which we desire to introduce, as any other kind of government; and, 3. That there is no law, no record of our Saviour against it: then, I hope, it will not be thought an unreasonable motion, if we humbly desire those that are in authority, especially the high court of Parliament, that it may not be sacrificed to clamour, or overborne by violence; and though

(which God forbid) the greater part of the multitude should cry, 'Crucify! crucify!' yet our governors would be so full of justice and courage, as not to give it up until they perfectly understand concerning episcopacy itself, *quid mali fecit*.* I shall speak at this time only of the first of these three points,—That episcopacy is not repugnant to the government settled in the church for perpetuity by the apostles: whereof I conceive this which follows as clear a demonstration as any thing of this nature is capable of," &c.†

What he says afterwards upon that point he resumes thus in the conclusion: "Episcopal government is acknowledged to have been universally received in the church presently after the apostles' times. Between the apostles' times and this *presently after*, there was not time enough for, nor possibility of, so great an alteration; and, therefore, there was no such alteration as is pretended; and, therefore, episcopacy, being confessed to be so ancient and catholic, must be granted also to be apostolic. *Quod erat demonstrandum*." ‡

* "What harm it has done."—EDR. † "Confessions and Proofs of Protestant Divines of Reformed Churches," &c., pp. 79, 80. 4to. Oxford, 1644. ‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 83, 84.

REMARKS.

XLV.—PAGE 296.

But these pieces have not been, as yet, printed—In the manuscripts of Mr. Henry Wharton, bought by Dr. Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury, and presented to the Lambeth library, were several pieces of Mr. Chillingworth, not as yet printed. I have mentioned some of them already,* and shall here give an account of them all, from the catalogue of those manuscripts, drawn up by Mr. Wharton himself.

He observes, that the volume marked M is *volumen chartaceum in fol.*, containing “A collection of papers formerly belonging to archbishop Laud, many of them wrote with his own hand, but most of them endorsed with his hand; together with some papers of the archbishops Sheldon and Sancroft, and many of Mr. Chillingworth:”† and after having set down part of the contents of that volume, he adds: “Several papers of Mr. William Chillingworth; namely,—

“Mr. Peake’s five Questions proposed to Mr. Chillingworth, about the Nature of Faith; and the Resolution and Consequences of the Faith of Protestants.

“Mr. Chillingworth’s Answer to Mr. Peake’s Questions: first draught imperfect.

“Mr. Chillingworth’s Answer to the Same: being complete and perfect.

“The beginning of a Treatise against the Scots. By Mr. Chillingworth.

“Passages extracted out of the Declarations of the Scots. By Mr. Chillingworth.

“Observations upon the Scottish Declaration. By Mr. Chillingworth.

* See the text, p. 38.

† *Catalogus MSS. Hen. Wharton, in Bibliotheca Lambeth., ad vol. M.*

"A Treatise of the Unlawfulness of resisting the lawful Prince, although most impious, tyrannical, and idolatrous. By Mr. Chillingworth.

"A Letter of Mr. Chillingworth, excusing his writing against the Rebels.*

"Notes of Mr. Chillingworth, concerning God's universal Mercy in calling Men to Repentance.

"A problematical Tentamen of Mr. Chillingworth, against punishing Crimes with Death in Christian Societies : † cancelled.

"A Letter of Mr. J. to Mr. Chillingworth, of the Imperfection of natural Religion and Reason, without the Assistance of Revelation : wrote 1637.

"A short Discourse of the Nature of Faith. By Mr. Chillingworth.

"A larger Discourse of the Nature of Faith. By Mr. Chillingworth.

"Of the Absurdity of departing from the Church of England, for Want of Succession of visible Professors in all Ages. By Mr. Chillingworth.

"A brief Answer to several Texts of Scripture, alleged to prove the Church to be one, visible, universal, perpetual, and infallible. By Mr. Chillingworth.

"A Letter of Dr. Sheldon to Mr. Chillingworth, to satisfy his Scruples about subscribing.‡

"Letter of Mr. Chillingworth to Dr. Sheldon, containing some Scruples about leaving the Church of Rome, and returning to the Church of England.

"Letter § of Mr. Chillingworth to Dr. Sheldon, containing his Scruples about Subscription, and the Reason of them." ||

* That letter is inserted in the text, p. 296.
 † This paragraph is rased out in the Catalogue.

‡ See Remark xxii., p. 116.

§ This paragraph is rased out in the Catalogue.

|| That letter hath been inserted above, p. 94, *et seq.*

XLVI.—PAGE 297.

What I have suffered in it—Mr. Chillingworth was very zealous for the king's cause, and used such endeavours to promote it on all occasions, as have been made a matter of reproach to him by his adversaries. "I admire," says Mr. Cheynell, "at the impudence of divers men," (that is, several eminent divines of the church of England he had cited,) "who have thus freely expressed themselves for the encouragement of the Arminian, Socinian, and popish party, and yet are not ashamed to say, that they stand for the protestant religion. I have seen a letter under Mr. Chillingworth's own hand, in which he doth excite Dr. Sheldon, of All-souls, and dean Potter, &c., to stand in 'defiance of the Parliament,' and advises them to 'stir up the youth' ('the young lads of the University,' as he calls them) to 'oppose the Parliament.' Now, can I or any man believe that Mr. Chillingworth doth intend to maintain Calvinism; I mean, pure protestant religion?" *

But what our author had then suffered for his loyalty I could not discover.† Only, Mr. Wood says in general, "that, in the beginning of the civil distempers, Mr. Chillingworth suffered much in the king's cause; and being forced to go from place to place for succour, as opportunity served, went at length to Arundel-castle, in Sussex," &c. ‡ Indeed, Dr. Walker tells us, that he "finds him some time in durance in the Tower, for words against the Parliament." § But he gives no voucher for it; and, to do him justice, I think we ought to look upon this passage as one of those many stories that have been communicated to him, which he received and published without a due examina-

* "The Rise, Growth, and Danger of Socinianism," &c., p. 76. Printed in 1643. See Remark XLI., p. 284. † See Appendix, Remark LXIV.—EDIT. ‡ *Ubi supra*, col. 23. § "An Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England," &c., part ii. p. 63.

tion. And the occasion of his correspondent's mistake I take to be this : he had read somewhere, or heard somebody say, that, in the year 1641, Mr. Chillingworth was sent prisoner to the Tower ; and he applied it to our author, whereas it related to a Member of Parliament of that name. " In the Commons House," says Dr. Nalson,* " Mr. Chillingworth, a member, was sent to the Tower,† for speaking some words which gave offence to the House, by declaring his judgment in offering at his instances concerning deposing of princes." " It was too early day yet," pursues Dr. Nalson, " to broach these doctrines, and the gentleman was to be made an example for this rash intemperance of his tongue ; and certainly the faction could not, if it had been a forelaid occasion, have done themselves a more serviceable and popular kindness. For this was to let the whole nation know, that they had such tenderness of loyalty and duty for the king, that their chaste ears could not endure the ungrateful sound of deposing kings, though in instances of the remotest distance : and then the natural consequences of this must be, that they who had such aversions and abhorrency to treasonous positions and precedents at such a distance, could have no evil intentions against their king, though they asked of him to divest himself of the power of the sword, and other royal prerogatives ; and, in effect, all that made him an actual, or more than a titular, king."

From the proceedings of the Commons against Mr. Chillingworth, one of their Members, Dr. Nalson takes occasion to represent them as a " faction," which made a show of having an " aversion " and " abhorrence to treasonous positions," but, in reality, had " evil intentions against the king," and black designs in view ; whereas that very pas-

* " An impartial Collection of great Affairs of State," &c., vol. ii. p. 714, *ad an.* 1641. See also p. 763. † He was sent to the Tower December 1st, 1641, and released December 20th. See NALSON, *ibid.*

sage imports the contrary. The truth is, the Commons, as well as the Lords, conceived that their laws and liberties were invaded ; and that apprehension, whether just or ill-grounded, was certainly prevalent in the nation ; but these same men were otherwise well-affected to the king, as limited by law. "In the House of Commons," says a noble historian,* "were many persons of wisdom and gravity, who, being possessed of great and plentiful fortunes, though they were undevoted enough to the court, had all imaginable duty for the king, and affection to the government established by law or ancient custom ; and, without doubt, the major part of that body consisted of men who had no mind to break the peace of the kingdom, or to make any considerable alteration in the government of church or state ; and, therefore, all inventions were set on foot from the beginning to work on them, and corrupt them," &c.

As to the Parliament's taking arms against the king ; it is very remarkable that this was justified by that very House of Commons which restored king Charles II. For, "some exceptions being taken to some words spoke by Mr. Lenthall, a Member of the House, in the debate of the Bill of General Pardon, to the effect following ; namely, 'He that drew his sword first against the king, committed as high an offence as he that cut off the king's head ;' Mr. Lenthall, standing up in his place, explained himself and withdrew. But it was resolved, that he should be called to the bar ; and the Serjeant with the mace went to Mr. Lenthall, who was withdrawn into the Speaker's chamber, and brought him to the bar, where kneeling, Mr. Speaker bid him rise ; and after, according to the order of the House, gave him a sharp reprehension to the effect following :—

"The House hath taken very great offence at some

* CLARENDON, "The History of the Rebellion," &c., book iii. vol. i. p. 184. 8vo.

words you have let fall, upon debate of this business of the Bill of Indemnity ; which, in the judgment of this House, hath as high a reflection on the justice and proceedings of the Lords and Commons in the last Parliament, in their actings before the year 1648, as could be expressed. They apprehend there is much poison in the words, and that they were spoken out of design to set this House on fire ; they tending to render them that drew the sword to bring delinquents to condign punishment, and to vindicate their just liberties, into balance with them that cut off the king's head : of which act they express their abhorrence and detestation ; appealing to God, and their conscience bearing them witness, that they had no thought against his person, much less against his life. Therefore, I am commanded to let you know, that had these words fallen out at any other time but in this Parliament, or at any time in this present Parliament but when they had considerations of mercy, pardon, and indemnity, you might have expected a sharper and severer sentence than I am now to pronounce. But the disposition of His Majesty is to mercy : he hath invited his people to accept of it ; and it is the disposition of the body of this House to be healers of the breaches, and to hold forth mercy to men of all conditions, so far as may stand with justice, and the justification of themselves before God and man. I am therefore commanded to let you know, that, that being their disposition, and the present subject of this day's debate being mercy, you shall therefore taste of mercy : yet I am to give you a sharp reprehension ; and I do, as sharply and severely as I can, (for so I am commanded,) reprehend you for it." *

Mr. Echard hath brought this passage into his "History of England," and he introduces it thus : "In preparing," says he, "the General Act of Pardon, the Commons proceeded with all tenderness and caution, especially with

* Journals of the 12th day of May, 1660.

relation to the late civil war ; in which they were very unwilling totally to condemn the Parliament's part in it. This particularly appeared in the treatment they gave to Mr. Lenthall, a Member of the House, who, in the debate of the Bill, took the freedom to say, 'He that first drew his sword against the late king, committed as great an offence as he that cut off his head.' Upon which, being seized by the Serjeant, he was brought to the bar, where the Speaker, by order of the House, gave him the following reprimand," &c.*

Mr. Echard would make us believe, that the Commons "proceeded with all tenderness and caution" with respect "to the late civil war ;" and, therefore, were "unwilling totally to condemn the Parliament's part in it : " but this is a gross misrepresentation of their proceedings. For they did not proceed "with tenderness and caution" in that respect, but expressed their sense of it with great warmth and freedom. And far from being only "unwilling totally to condemn the Parliament's part in" the civil war, that they fully justified it ; declaring, that those who "drew the sword" did it "to bring delinquents to punishment, and to vindicate their just liberties ;" and that Mr. Lenthall's words were "a high reflection on the justice and proceedings of the Lords and Commons in their actings before 1648."

XLVII.—PAGE 298.

This little piece hath been reprinted several times, and I do not find any thing published against it till of late—The first edition of that tract hath been already mentioned. It was also printed by itself, in 1644, at Oxford, with this title : "The apostolical Institution of Episcopacy," † without the name of the author. And thus leaving out these words of the title of the first edition, "deduced out of the premisses,"

* "The History of England," &c., p. 765. Second Edition.
† Printed by H. Hall, in 4to., pp. 6.

it is represented as a piece complete, and designed to go alone ; whereas it depended upon the preceding treatises, and was drawn up as a corollary or conclusion “deduced out” of them.

It was again printed in 1660, with a speech of my lord Falkland concerning episcopacy. The title of that pamphlet is, “Two Discourses concerning Episcopacy : the Former made by the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Falkland ; and the Latter by his Friend, Mr. William Chillingworth. Published according to the original Copies.” In 4to., pp. 14. And here our author’s tract is entitled, “The apostolical Institution of Episcopacy, demonstrated by Mr. William Chillingworth ;” which word “demonstrated” was, no doubt, put in by the editor, (who made, likewise, some alterations in a marginal note referring to the treatises above mentioned,) and misrepresents the particular intent and design of that piece.* This last edition, divided into paragraphs, hath been inserted in the subsequent editions of the works of Mr. Chillingworth.†

That small tract remained unanswered for above three-score years. But, in 1707, a book came out against it in Scotland, entitled, “The ancient Bishops considered, both with Respect to the Extent of their Jurisdiction, and Nature of their Power. In Answer to Mr. Chillingworth and others. Wherein the Conformity of the Government and Discipline of the Church of Scotland with that of the ancient Church is fully manifested. And it is made evident, that the Ministers of the Gospel, or Pastors of the Parishes, are not Presbyters, but Bishops ; and that the Government of the Church by Presbyteries, Synods, General Assemblies, and Commissions of General Assemblies, is not Presbyterian but Episcopal Government. By Alexander Lauder, Minister of the Gospel at Mordentoun.” ‡

* Mr. Lauder, *ubi infra*, animadvertens upon that expression, p. 5.

† See Remark xxxiv., p. 237, note 3.

‡ Printed at Edinburgh,

in 8vo.

Mr. Lauder begins his preface with giving the reasons that engaged him to write on that subject. "To offer at this time-a-day," says he, "to answer Mr. Chillingworth's 'Demonstration of Episcopacy,' or archbishop Usher's 'Original of Bishops and Metropolitans,'—old writings, and which may be supposed to be long ago buried in oblivion,—may perhaps be thought an odd and improper undertaking, and be imputed to a contentious humour, or an unreasonable desire to revive ancient debates, and perpetuate heats and animosities in the church.

"But, considering these writings were not long since reprinted at Edinburgh, with a design, no doubt, to make us believe, that the government which is now called 'episcopal' is the same with that which was instituted by the apostles, and was the government of the ancient church in the purest ages; and seeing the party, as may be easily judged, will readily cry them up as unanswerable, and pretend they prove, to a demonstration, that our present happy establishment is not capable of a rational defence; I thought I would not be condemned by equitable persons if I should undertake to discover the vanity of such a pretence, or make it appear that that episcopacy which was of late so justly thrown out of this church (and which, we have good ground to hope, shall never infest it again any more, the government thereof, as it is now established, being made a fundamental article of the union betwixt the two kingdoms, and declared unalterable by the Parliament of Great Britain in all time coming) is not at all proven, by these or the like writings, to be either apostolical or ancient; and, consequently, that they who build their practice on such weak and unsound foundations, have need to consider how they will be able to answer before God for their rending his church, by making a schism therein, and keeping up a scandalous and unaccountable division amongst us."

Besides Mr. Chillingworth and archbishop Usher, Mr.

Lauder attacks Mr. Sage's "Vindication of the Principles of the Cyprianic Age" in several places, but particularly in a treatise which takes up above half of his book, wherein he undertakes to prove, that "the bishops in Cyprian's time had neither absolute power nor a negative voice in their churches."

XVII. CONTINUANCE OF THE CIVIL WAR. CHILLINGWORTH TAKEN PRISONER IN ARUNDEL-CASTLE ; AND, IN CONSEQUENCE OF SEVERE ILLNESS, REMOVED TO CHICHESTER. EXTRACTS FROM CHEYNELL'S PAMPHLET, "CHILLINGWORTHI NOVISSIMA," CONTAINING SOME ACCOUNT OF CHILLINGWORTH'S SICKNESS, AND OF CHEYNELL'S INTERCOURSE WITH HIM.

THE war still continued with great vigour on each side. The king having appointed the lord Hopton general of his troops in the west, he forced Arundel-castle, in Sussex, to surrender, on December 9th. But sir William Waller, who commanded the Parliament's forces in those parts, resolved to recover that place ; and "he marched with all his army to Arundel-castle, where he found that garrison as unprovided as he could wish. For, instead of increasing the magazine of victual by supplies from the country, they had spent much of that store which the lord Hopton had provided. The governor* was a man of

* Sir Edward Ford, high-sheriff of the county.

honesty and courage, but unacquainted with that affair, having no other experience in war than what he had learned since these troubles. The officers were many without command; amongst whom one colonel Bamford, an Irishman, though he called himself Bamfield, was one; who, being a man of wit and parts, applied all his faculties to improve the faction to which they were all naturally inclined, with a hope to make himself governor. In this distraction Waller found them; and by some of the soldiers running out to him, he found means again to send in to them; by which he so increased their faction and animosity against one another, that, after he had kept them waking, with continual alarms, three or four days, near half the men being sick, and unable to do duty, rather than they would trust each other longer, they gave the place and themselves up as prisoners of war upon quarter, on January 6th; the place being able to have defended itself against all that power for a much longer time. Here the learned and eminent Mr. Chillingworth," pursues my lord Clarendon, "was taken prisoner; who, out of kindness and respect to the lord Hopton, had accompanied him in that march; and, being indisposed by the terrible coldness of the season, chose to repose himself in that garrison till the weather should mend." *

Mr. Chillingworth's illness increased to such a degree, that, being not able to go to London with the garrison, he was conveyed to Chichester; which favour he obtained at the request of his great

* CLARENDON, book viii. tom. iv. p. m. 472, 473.

adversary Mr. Cheynell, above mentioned, who accidentally met with him in Arundel-castle, and frequently visited him at Chichester till he died. But Mr. Cheynell hath given us an account of Mr. Chillingworth's sickness, and of his own behaviour toward him; wherein he showed himself as charitable and compassionate as his rigid orthodoxy would permit him to be. For "Mr. Cheynell," as a celebrated author observes, "was a rigid, zealous presbyterian; exactly orthodox; very unwilling that any should be supposed to go to heaven but in the right way: and this was that one way in which he himself was settled; and in which he seems to have been as sincere, and honest, and charitable, as his bigotry, and his cramped notions of God's *peculium*, would permit him to be."* Besides his orthodoxy, Mr. Cheynell, as hath been observed already,† was entirely devoted to the Parliament, and very active in promoting their cause. And no doubt but it was out of a desire to show his zeal in all these respects, that he published his account of Mr. Chillingworth, which is a most ludicrous as well as melancholy instance of fanaticism or religious madness. But as we cannot reasonably suspect the truth of the most material passages it contains, I shall transcribe here what relates to Mr. Chillingworth, without any apprehension of tiring the reader.

Mr. Cheynell was pleased to entitle his pamphlet, "*Chillingworthi Novissima* : or, the Sick-

* The lord bishop of Bangor, in his "Letter to Dr. Snape," printed before Mr. de la Pilloniere's "Reply to Dr. Snape's Vindication of a Passage," &c., p. xliv.

† See above, pp. 270, 271.

ness, Heresy, Death, and Burial of William Chillingworth; in his own Phrase, Clerk of Oxford; and in the Conceit of his Fellow-Soldiers, the Queen's Arch-Engineer and Grand-Intelligencer. Set forth in a Letter to his eminent and learned Friends. A Relation of his Apprehension at Arundel; a Discovery of his Errors in a brief Catechism; and a short Oration at the Burial of his heretical Book. By Francis Cheynell, late Fellow of Merton College. Published by Authority." Printed at London, 1644, in 4to.

He prefixed to it an epistle or dedication "to the learned and eminent friends of Mr. Chillingworth; and, in particular, to sir John Culpepper, knight; Dr. John Prideaux, bishop of Worcester; Fell, dean of Christ-Church; Baylie, dean of Sarum; Sheldon, warden of All-souls'; Potter, provost of Queen's; and Morley, canon of Christ-Church." (XLVIII.)*

Then comes the Relation itself, with a new title, no less curious than the first: "A brief and plain Relation of Mr. Chillingworth's Sickness, Death, and Burial: together with a just Censure of his Work, by a Discovery of his Errors collected out of his Book, and framed into a Kind of Atheistical Catechism, fit for Racovia or Cracovia; and may well serve for the Instruction of the Irish, Welch, Dutch, French, Spanish, Army in England; and especially for the Black Regiment at Oxford."

He begins with his apology for writing against a person that was dead. "I am very religious," says he, "in observing that old proverb, if it be

* See Remark XLVIII. at the end of this section, p. 319.

taken in its right sense : ‘ Nothing is to be spoken of the dead but good.’..... It is no glory to triumph over one that is conquered, nay, dead ; for that of the poet is true :—

*Nullum cum victis certamen * et æthere cassis.†*

“ But I consider that Mr. Chillingworth’s party is alive, though he be dead ; and though one of his books is buried, there are many hundred copies divulged ; and, therefore, though I speak not of his human frailties, or personal infirmities and imperfections, which died with him ; yet I may speak of his heretical book, and of some destructive policies he used, which do yet survive in their sad and lamentable effects. Judge what I say : put the case,—A man commits notorious crimes scandalously, because publicly ; and doth not only hold, but vent, damnable heresies ; and vent them not only in the pulpit, but in the press ;—shall not his damnable heresies and printed heresies be confuted after his death ? Shall thousands be seduced and perish, and all orthodox divines silenced with that one proverb : ‘ Nothing is to be spoken of the dead but good ? ’ Nay, put the case further yet,—Suppose a man hath had his head full of powder-plots, and his heart full of bloody desires ; nay, hath been a ringleader and encourager of others to bloody practices, against the very light of nature as well as scripture ;—

* *Scilicet, esse oportet.* † The following is BERESFORD’s translation of this verse from Virgil : (*Æneid.* lib. xi. 104 :)—

“ That with the fallen, and those bereaved of light,
Contention is no more.”—EDIT.

must nothing be said of such a man, when he is gone, but good?"*

Having thus justified his undertaking, he relates by what accident he happened to meet with Mr. Chillingworth.

"Mr. Chillingworth and I," says he,† "met in Sussex by an unexpected providence: I was driven from my own house by force of arms, only, as the cavaliers confessed, because I was nominated to be a member of the Assembly; and when I heard that my living was bestowed upon a doctor, (who, if some Cambridge-men deceive me not, became the stage far better than he doth the pulpit,) I resolved to exercise my ministry in Sussex, amongst my friends, in a place where there hath been little of the power of religion either known or practised. About the latter end of November I travelled from London to Chichester, according to my usual custom, to observe the monthly fast; and in my passage (with a thankful heart I shall ever acknowledge it) I was guarded by a convoy of sixteen soldiers, who faced about two hundred of the enemies' forces, and put them all to flight. There were, you see, some difficulties in my way, which seemed insuperable; and yet the Lord of hosts did bring me through these difficulties safe from Bramber to Arundel, upon December 21st, if I forget not. Mr. Chillingworth was at that time in Arundel-castle, which was surrendered to the much-renowned commander, sir Wil-

* *Chillingworthi Novissima*, &c., pp. 12, 13. The pages are not numbered; but I shall cite them as I have numbered them in my copy, beginning page 1 with the title-page of the book.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 13—15.

liam Waller, sergeant-major-general of all the associated counties in the east and west, on January 6th. As soon as the castle was surrendered, I represented Mr. Chillingworth's condition to sir William Waller, who commended him to the care of his worthy chaplain; and his chaplain showed so much charity and respect towards him, that he laid him upon his own bed, and supplied him with all necessaries which the place did afford. When the rest of the prisoners were sent up to London, Mr. Chillingworth made it evident to me, that he was not able to endure so long a journey; and if he had been put to it, he had certainly died by the way. I desired, therefore, that his journey might be shortened; and, upon my humble motion, he was sent to Chichester, where I entreated the governor that he might be secured by some officer of his acquaintance, and not put into the hands of the marshal. The governor gave order, that lieutenant Golledge should take charge of him; and placed him in the bishop of Chichester's palace, where he had very courteous usage, and all accommodations which were requisite for a sick man."*.....

"And for my part," says Mr. Cheynell, "I believe, that, in the course of nature, he might have recovered, had he not neglected and distrusted an able doctor who freely offered himself, only because he was physician to sir William Waller; sure I am, that jealousy was more deadly than his disease. Yet Mr. Chillingworth did, when it was too late, discover and confess his

* See Remark LIV., p. 354.

error ; and we persuaded the doctor to visit him afterwards ; and he was in an hopeful way of recovery : but then his spirit was much dejected, because his friends neglected, or delayed, to send him some good news from Oxford ; his heart was so set upon his release, and his head was still working and projecting how he might be exchanged, or ransomed ; and, therefore, certainly the news of his friends' active endeavours for his release, was the only cordial which could possibly revive his spirits ; and, for want of such a cordial, his heart was even dead within him before he died. I entreated him to pluck up his spirits, and not to yield to his disease ; but I perceived, that though reason be stout when it encounters with faith, yet reason is not so valiant when it is to encounter with affliction ; and I cannot but observe, that many a Parliament-soldier hath been more cheerful in a prison, than this discoursing engineer and learned captive was in a palace. Believe it, reader, believe it, that neither gifts, nor parts, nor profession, nor any thing else but faith, will sustain the spirit of a man in spiritual straits and worldly encumbrances, when ' without there are fightings, and within there are fears !'

" Another reason there was, which, as I conceive, was very destructive to this man of reason : he was disrelished, and, I believe, abused, by most of the great officers who were taken prisoners in Arundel-castle ; they looked upon him as an intruder into their councils of war, and, as one of them whispered, the queen's intelligencer, who was set as a spy over them and all their proceedings. (XLIX.) When major Molins came to treat,

he spake very coldly for Mr. Chillingworth ; and a greater commander than he told me, that they were bound to curse 'that little priest' to the pit of hell, for he had been the ruin of them all. I replied, in his behalf, that I wondered much that they should make so weak an apology ; for I could not believe that Mr. Chillingworth's single vote could turn their council of war round, and make them giddy. The ingenious gentleman made use of the liberty of his judgment, and replied, 'Sir, Mr. Chillingworth hath so much credit at the court, and the court-council hath so much influence into our military council, that we were even over-awed, and durst not contradict Mr. Chillingworth, for fear lest our own resolutions might succeed ill, and then his counsel would have been esteemed the better.' I told the gentleman, that I thought Mr. Chillingworth wanted experience for the ordering of military affairs ; and therefore could not well apply the general rules of reason aright, and bring them down to practice, in cases which were difficult, because unusual. The gentleman replied, 'Sir, Mr. Chillingworth is so confident of his great wit and parts, that he conceives himself able to manage martial affairs, in which he hath no experience, by the strength of his own wit and reason.' 'Sir,' quoth I, 'you may forgive him ; for though I hope to be saved by faith, yet Mr. Chillingworth hopes that a man may be saved by reason ; and, therefore, you may well give him leave to fight by reason.' 'Sir,' saith that witty gentleman, 'I confess it is a sad objection, which I know not how to answer ;' and so, instead of an answer, we went to dinner. But I did examine

the business impartially afterwards, and perceive that these great commanders have grossly abused Mr. Chillingworth, in laying all the blame upon him, as if he were guilty of losing the outworks, the town, the castle, and all; and therefore I shall do Mr. Chillingworth so much right, as to offer some considerations which may tend to his excuse or vindication." * (L.)

* *Chillingworthi Novissima*, &c., pp. 17—19.

REMARKS.

XLVIII.—PAGE 313.

A dedication to the learned and eminent friends of Mr. Chillingworth—I shall set down here two or three paragraphs of the beginning.

"Sirs," says he, "your deceased friend is not yet speechless, he calls upon you to beware and repent; some preach more, at least more practically, when they are dead, than ever they did whilst they were alive. You that were his patrons and encouragers, as he acknowledged ever, when he was in the height of his rebellion, do you 'beware lest a worse thing come unto you.' You that were the licensers † of his subtile atheism, repent, repent! for he was so hardened by your flattery, that, for aught the most charitable man can judge, he perished by your 'approbation:' he ever appealed to his works, even to his very dying day; and what was it which made him dote upon them, but your 'licence and approbation?' Hark what he saith: 'The third and last part of my accusation was, that I answer out

† Dr. Baylie, Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Fell.

of principles which protestants themselves will profess to detest ; which indeed were to the purpose, if it could be justified. But, besides that it is confuted by my whole book, and made ridiculous by *the approbation* premised unto it,' &c.: read Mr. Chillingworth's 'Preface to the Author of *Charity maintained*,' &c., section 30. Sure I am, that the accusation may be justified, and therefore is to the purpose ; but 'the approbation' cannot be justified, and is therefore justly reprobated : the accusation is so serious, that 'the approbation' cannot make it (but may well make the approvers and their church) ridiculous. O what a ridiculous church do the licensers make the church of England to be, by saying, that there is nothing in Mr. Chillingworth's book contrary to the doctrine of the church of England ! sure they meant the church of Canterbury. But Dr. Fell and Dr. Baylie are not ashamed to say, that there is nothing in that book contrary to good manners ; which Dr. Prideaux would not say : but enough of that.

"Sirs, the following history will testify my compassion towards your deceased friend, whom I ever opposed in a charitable and friendly way. I do not account it any glory to trample upon the carcass of Hector, or to pluck a dead lion by the beard : * should I misquote his book, and make that error mine own by a false citation, which I pretend to be his in an accusation, you that were the unhappy licensers of his book would soon take me tripping. If you conceive that he deserved a more honourable burial, be pleased to answer my reasons, and patronise his errors with all the learning Bodley's library can afford ; or else study his catechism,—pardon my boldness, some courtiers never learnt, and some doctors have forgot, their catechism, or else this man we speak of had never been so much admired, his book extolled, or these antichristian wars fomented by such great clerks and busy wits.

* Νεκροῦ σώμα λεόντος ἐφύβριζουσι λαγωί.

See a translation of this passage in note †, p. 264.—EDIT.

"I looked upon Mr. Chillingworth as one who had his head as full of scruples as it was of engines, and therefore dealt as tenderly with him as I use to do with men of the most nice and tender consciences : for I considered, that though beef must be preserved with salt, yet plums must be preserved with sugar. I can assure you, I stooped as low to him as I could without falling : and, you know, he is not a wise man, in the judgment of the philosopher, who stoops so low to another man's weakness, that he himself falls into weakness ; and it is a rule with us at Westminster, that ' he falls into weakness who falls into sin.' "

"Do not conceive that I snatched up my pen in an angry mood, that I might vent my dangerous wit, and ease my overburdened spleen. No, no ; I have almost forgot the visitation at Merton College, the denial of my Grace, the plundering of my house and little library : I know when and where and of whom to demand satisfaction for all these injuries and indignities. I have learnt *centum plagas Spartanâ nobilitate concoquere*.* I have not yet learnt how to plunder others of goods or living, and make myself amends by force of arms. I will not take a living which belonged to any civil, studious, learned delinquent, unless it be the much-neglected *commendam* of some lordly prelate, condemned by the known laws of the land, and the highest court of the kingdom, for some offence of the first magnitude ; I can, without straining my conscience, swallow such a gnat,—a camel I should say ; for every one of their *commendams* hath a bunch upon its back, and may well make a bunch upon their conscience. I shall not trouble you with any long discourse about state-matters ; only you will give me leave to say what the Lacedæmonian slave said, when he stood to be sold in the market, and one asked him what he was : ' I am,' saith he,

* PETRONIUS ARBITER, *Satyric*. cap. lxiv. (4to. edit. 1629.)

"The infliction of a hundred stripes I have learnt to bear with that unflinching firmness which was accounted by the Spartans to be the only true nobility."—EDIT.

‘a free man ;’ * and so am I : for though I have not taken *antidotum contra Cæsarem*, yet I have taken *antidotum contra tyrannidem*.† I could never yet stoop so low to the most tyrannical prelate as to cry, ‘Your humble slave.’ ”

And, after some pages in the same strain, he concludes thus :—

“I will not,” says he, “hold you any longer upon the rack. Learn the first lesson of Christianity,—self-denial ; deny your own will, and submit yourselves to God’s ; deny your reason, and submit to faith. Reason tells you that there are some things above reason, and you cannot be so unreasonable as to make reason judge of those things which are above reason. Remember that Mr. Chillingworth, your friend, did run mad with reason, and so lost his reason and religion both at once : he thought he might trust his reason in the highest points : his reason was to be judge, whether or no there be a God ; whether that God wrote any book ; whether the books usually received as canonical be the books, the scriptures of God ; what is the sense of those books ; what religion is best ; what church purest. Come, do not wrangle ; but believe, and obey your God ; and then I shall be encouraged to subscribe myself,

“Your friend and servant, &c.”

XLIX.—PAGE 317.

They looked upon him as an intruder into their councils of war, and one who was set as spy over them and their proceedings—In the next page ‡ Mr. Cheynell says, that “though Mr. Chillingworth were the grand-engineer at Gloucester and Arundel, and both projects failed,” &c. ; § whereby it

* Ἐλευθερος εἰμι. † “Though I have not taken an antidote against Cæsar, yet I have taken an antidote against tyranny.”—
 EDIT. ‡ *Chillingworthi Novissima*, &c., p. 19. § See Remark L., p. 323.

appears, that he thought Mr. Chillingworth had been sent to Arundel-castle, in order to be employed in the defence of that place. But my lord Clarendon assures us, in the passage before cited,* that he came thither accidentally ; that, “out of kindness and respect to the lord Hopton, he had accompanied him into Sussex ; and being indisposed by the terrible coldness of the season, he chose to repose himself in that garrison till the weather should mend.” And therefore the following passage of Mr. Wood may be justly censured : “In the beginning of the civil distempers,” says he, “our author Chillingworth suffered much for the king’s cause ; and being forced to go from place to place for succour, as opportunity served, went at length to Arundel-castle, in Sussex, where he was in quality of an engineer in that garrison.” †

L—PAGE 319.

I shall do Mr. Chillingworth so much right, as to offer some considerations which may tend to his excuse or vindication—The considerations which Mr. Cheynell offers, to excuse or vindicate Mr. Chillingworth, whom he represents here as acting the part of an engineer, are these : “For, what, though Mr. Chillingworth,” says he, “were the grand engineer at Gloucester ‡ and Arundel, and both projects failed ; the fault might be in the officers and soldiers, and not in the engineer : put the case,—the lord Hopton, baron of Stratton, field-marshal-general of the west, promise to bring three thousand men, and the engineer make a line of communication which cannot be defended with fewer than two thousand ; but the field-marshal doth, in the mean time, forget himself, and quarter his men in three or four maniples ; but his enemy, being a more wary and prudent commander, keeps his men in a

* See the text, p. 311.
Remark XLII., p. 287.

† Vol. ii. cap. 23.

‡ See

contracted and compact body, which is too strong for the best of his maniple, and falls upon one of the field-marshal's quarters, takes and kills near upon a thousand men, and the field-marshal, by such an unexpected blow, is utterly disabled for the fulfilling of his promise of sending three thousand, nay, is not able to send above fifteen hundred men :—shall the engineer or the field-marshal be blamed in such a case ?

“Nay, what, if the enemy advance before the engineer hath quite finished his works ? yet, if he hath made them defensible against any sudden onset, and the soldiers, who should defend the works, quit their trenches, and run all away, before any one man be slain in the trenches ; shall the engineer be blamed in such a case, or the soldiers, who were stricken with fear when there was no considerable cause of fear ?

“Finally. If the Lord of hosts, who did strike a terror to the very heart of the soldiers, do show himself a God of wisdom, and infatuate the counsels of the grand Ahithophels ; nay, show himself a sin-revenging God, and smite the soldiers in the castle with deadly diseases, with one pox more than they carried in with them, with the flux, the calenture, the spotted fever, and the like ; if, in the midst of these distresses, the soldiers break forth into a mutinous flame, and set all their fellows in a combustion ; must the engineer be blamed if the castle be surrendered in such a case ? Now, I appeal to their council of war, whether their case were not so like to these cases which have been put, that it is hard to say wherein they differed. Let not, then, Mr. Chillingworth be charged with more faults than he was guilty of : I cannot but vindicate his reputation from all false aspersions, which are cast upon him by some who know not how to excuse themselves.” *

* *Chillingworthi Novissima*, &c., pp. 19, 20.

XVIII. CHEYNELL'S FURTHER ACCOUNT OF HIS BEHAVIOUR TOWARD CHILLINGWORTH, WHOSE SICKNESS PROVES TO BE MORTAL.

MR. CHEYNELL, having excused or vindicated Mr. Chillingworth, as he is pleased to call it, gives an account of his own behaviour towards him.

"I took," says he, "all the care I could of his body whilst he was sick, and will, as far as he was innocent, take care of his fame and reputation now he is dead : nay, whilst he was alive, I took care of something more precious than his health or reputation, to wit, his precious and beloved soul ; for, in compassion to his soul, I dealt freely and plainly with him, and told him, that he had been very active in fomenting these bloody wars against the Parliament and commonwealth of England, his natural country, and, by consequent, against the very light of nature. 'I acknowledge,' saith he, 'that I have been active in these wars ; but I have ever followed the dictates of my conscience ; and if you convince me that I am in an error, you shall not find me obstinate.' I told him, I conceived that he might want sleep, being at that time newly come out of the castle ; and, therefore, I gave him time to refresh himself. And when I came to him again, I asked him whether he was fit for discourse. He told me, 'Yes ;' but somewhat faintly. I certified him, that I did not desire to take him at the lowest, when his spirits were flatted, and his reason disturbed ; but had much rather undertake him when he was at the highest ; because I came prepared to receive

satisfaction, and looked upon myself as unlikely to give satisfaction to one whom I acknowledged so much above me, in regard of his parts, gifts, experience; he having studied books and men, and more accurately discussed that question of state than ever I had done. He then told me, that he was pretty well refreshed, and as able as he used to be, in these times of distraction, for any discourse about that great controversy of state. He desired me to begin. I satisfied his desire, and told him, that it would be very requisite, in the first place, to state the question aright; for, as I conceived, many ingenious men were grossly mistaken even in the very state of the question.

“‘First, then, be pleased,’ quoth I, ‘to consider, that the original difference was not between the king and the Parliament, but between the Parliament and delinquents; and, indeed, between the queen and the Parliament.’ I told him, that he could not be ignorant, that, upon January 4th, two years ago, the king went unto the Parliament upon the queen’s errand;* and I believed, that he knew better than I how much the queen was discontented, because her bloody design was not put in execution. He told me, that he could not deny, and he would not excuse, it. When I was going on to discourse about other matters of fact, he confessed very honestly, that he did now perceive that they had no certain information of matters of fact at Oxford: whereby I perceived that it was no wonder that so many brave men were seduced to fight against the Parliament.

* On the 5th of January, 1641–2, the king went to the House of Commons, to demand the five Members.

“Upon further discourse, he told me, that he observed a great deal of piety in the commanders and soldiers of the Parliament’s army. ‘I confess,’ saith he, ‘their discourse and behaviour doth speak them Christians; but I can find little of God or godliness in our men; they will not seek God whilst they are in their bravery, nor trust him when they are in distress: I have much ado,’ saith he, ‘to bring them upon their knees, to call upon God, or to resign themselves up to God, when they go on upon any desperate service, or are cast into any perplexed condition.’ I liked him well, when I heard him run on so fluently to this effect; and I closed with him, and desired him to tell me freely, whether, in good earnest, he thought the Parliament did intend any thing else than the taking of the wicked from before the king; the establishing of the king’s throne in justice; the setting up of Christ’s ordinances in power, purity, liberty; and the settling of the known laws of the land, the privileges of the Parliament, and liberties of the subjects, in quiet and peace.

“‘Sir,’ saith he, ‘I must acknowledge, that I do verily believe that the intentions of the Parliament are better than the intentions of the court, or of that army which I have followed; but I conceive that the Parliament takes a wrong course to prosecute and accomplish their good intentions, for war is not the way of Jesus Christ.’” *

Mr. Cheynell was so pleased with these answers of Mr. Chillingworth, that he thought it ungene-

* *Chillingworthi Novissima*, &c., pp. 20—22.

rous to dispute with him any longer. (LI.*) But this resolution was soon altered; he could not help putting further questions to him.

"I desired him," says he, "to tell me, whether the highest court of justice in the kingdom may not compel delinquents, who are protected by force against law, to come in by force of arms, that they may be tried according to law.

"First. He acknowledged that the Parliament is the highest court; and, therefore, I conclude, not to be controlled by some few of the king's council, or by a pretended assembly, consisting of fugitives and delinquents. 'Secondly,' saith he, 'I must deal plainly with you,—though the Parliament hath voted some to be delinquents, and the queen herself to be a traitor, yet I do not believe that their judgment is infallible.' I was able to answer him out of his own book,—that 'the judgment of a court or person,' especially where there is evidence of the fact, 'may be certain, though that court or person be not infallible.' Secondly. Though the judgment of the highest court be not infallible, yet 'it is final; and, therefore, we cannot appeal from the judgment of the Parliament to any court, but the court of heaven.' 'True,' saith Mr. Chillingworth; 'but this is it which sticks with me,—that there is no fundamental constitution for the government of this kingdom by a standing Parliament.' To which I had many answers to return: 'First. There is a fundamental constitution for the government of this kingdom by the three estates. Secondly.

* See Remark LI. at the end of this section, p. 336.

There is a law for the frequency of Parliaments. And, thirdly, the virtue and strength of every Parliament continues in the Acts of every Parliament, by which the kingdom is governed, even after the dissolution of that Parliament ; every Parliament doth live in its unrepealed Acts, and, therefore, lives even after its dissolution ; and in that respect we have many Parliaments yet standing : some old Elizabeth-Parliaments do as yet live, breathe, move, and operate, with strength and vigour. Fourthly. There is an Act passed for the continuance of this Parliament, by the unanimous consent of all three estates ; and the king's council could not find any other probable means under heaven for the disengaging of His Majesty, than the framing and passing of that Act of continuance.' Mr. Chillingworth, putting off his hat, cried, 'I acknowledge that Act with all reverence, and there is your strength.' He seemed pretty well satisfied with that answer : and, as touching 'the way of Jesus Christ,' I desired to know whether the saints were not to make war against the whore and the beast : whether it be not an act of charity for Protestants to lay down their lives for their brethren : whether it be not an act of faith to wax valiant in fight for the defence of that faith which was once delivered to the saints. I perceived my gentleman somewhat puzzled ; and I took my leave, that he might take his rest." *

On January 23d, captain Robert King sent the following letter to Mr. Walter Jones, one of the

* *Chillingworthi Novissima*, &c., pp. 23, 24.

chaplains of Christ-Church, in Oxford,* to give him an account of the condition Mr. Chillingworth lay in, and to desire him to acquaint his friends there with it :—

“KIND FRIEND,

“MR. CHILLINGWORTH was in so weak a condition, by reason of a violent flux, that, I persuade myself, he could not have lived the first night of his journey, had he gone farther; for it was very tedious to him to be brought hither. He lies very ill, and, for aught I perceive, in a desperate condition; and how God may dispose of him we know not. If any of his friends have a purpose to come into these parts, they shall have free passage, without any molestation. Lieutenant Golledge performs the part of a real friend in every kind; neither is Christobell wanting in her best care and diligence. Lieutenant Golledge hath already disbursed ten pounds, or thereabout. It would not be amiss that some of Mr. Chillingworth's friends were present with him, whilst there is some hope of life; for it will be a great satisfaction both to him and others. There must be no delays, either of time or money.

“I hear that Mr. Chillingworth's sister, whom he hath made executrix, is travailing with child, and, therefore, unfit for travel; but he is very confident she will not let him want for necessary supplies whilst he lives, and that he may have decent burial, befitting one of his merit, if it pleaseth God he chance to die. Among other of

* Dated from Chichester, January 23d.

his friends, I pray acquaint Dr. Sheldon, the warden of All-souls, with what is written, whom Mr. Chillingworth doth very highly esteem.

“Your affectionate friend,” &c.*

Mr. Cheynell was very much concerned at the present condition of Mr. Chillingworth. “My heart,” says he, “was moved with compassion towards him, and I gave him many visits after this first visit; but I seldom found him in fit case to discourse, because his disease grew stronger and stronger, and he weaker and weaker.” †

But this consideration could not hinder our zealot from using all opportunities to trouble Mr. Chillingworth with his questions.

“I desired,” says he, “to know his opinion concerning that Liturgy which hath been formerly so much extolled, and even idolized, amongst the people; but all the answer that I could get was to this purpose,—that there were some truths which the ministers of the gospel are not bound, upon pain of damnation, to publish to the people: and, indeed, he conceived it very unfit to publish any thing concerning the Common-Prayer Book, or the Book of Ordination, &c., for fear of scandal.”

Mr. Cheynell, we see, owns that these are not the words of Mr. Chillingworth; but says they were “to that purpose.” He afterwards passes the following censure upon them:—

“I was sorry,” says he, “to hear such an answer drop from a dying man; and I conceived it could not but be much more scandalous to

* CHEYNELL, *ubi supra*, pp. 15, 16.

† *Ibid.*, p. 25.

seduce or hoodwink the people, than to instruct and edify them in a point which did directly concern the public worship of God in this land.

"When I found him pretty hearty one day," pursues Mr. Cheynell, "I desired him to tell me, whether he conceived that a man living and dying a Turk, Papist, or Socinian, could be saved.

"All the answer that I could gain from him was, that he did not absolve them, and would not condemn them."

This answer could by no means please our rigid orthodox. (LII.)

Mr. Chillingworth, being tired with such unseasonable, captious, and fanatical questions, begged of Mr. Cheynell to spare him; but our zealot answered that request with a severe reprimand.

"When Mr. Chillingworth," says he, "saw himself entangled in disputes, he desired me that I would deal charitably with him; 'for,' saith he, 'I was ever a charitable man.' My answer was somewhat tart, and, therefore, the more charitable, considering his condition, and the counsel of the apostle: 'Rebuke them sharply,' (or, as Beza hath it, 'precisely,') 'that they may be sound in the faith.' (Titus i. 13.) And I desire not to conceal my tartness: it was to this effect: 'Sir, it is confessed that you have been very excessive in your charity; you have lavished out so much charity upon Turks, Socinians, Papists, that I am afraid you have very little to spare for a truly reformed protestant; sure I am, the zealous protestants find very little charity at Oxford.' " *

* *Chillingworthi Novissima*, &c., p. 26.

But Mr. Cheynell seems to have come afterwards into a better temper ; for he declined answering a question put to him by Mr. Chillingworth, which might have occasioned a long and warm debate.

“The last time I visited him,” says he, “was on the Lord’s day, January 28th, 1643–4 ;* for I thought it a sabbath-duty ; and then he began to speak of some questions which I formerly propounded to him, whereof this was one,—whether tyranny was God’s ordinance. I presently took him off from that discourse, because I knew he had been laid up fast by that argument before ; for it is impossible that any man should ever prove, that tyranny is not to be resisted upon this ground,—because we must not resist God’s ordinance ; unless they could prove that which is blasphemy to mention ; namely, that tyranny is God’s ordinance. I desired him that he would now take off his thoughts from all matters of speculation, and fix upon some practical point which might make for his edification.

“He thanked me, as I hope, very heartily ; and told me, that in all points of religion he was settled, and had fully expressed himself, for the satisfaction of others, in his book, which was approved and licensed by very learned and judicious divines. Upon further discourse, I began to tell him what meditation did most comfort me in times of extremity ; and I added, that the meditation was very proper for a man in his condition, if he could lay hold upon the covenant of grace.....Not long

* See Remark LIII., p. 351.

after I told him, that I did use to pray for him in private; and asked him whether it was his desire that I should pray for him in public. He answered, Yes, with all his heart; and he said withal, that he hoped he should fare the better for my prayers." *

At the same time, Mr. Cheynell showed his readiness to procure him all the assistance and relief possible.

"I observed," says he, "that Mr. Chillingworth was much troubled with a sore throat, and oppressed with tough phlegm, which would certainly choke him up, if there were not some sudden remedy. I sent, therefore, to a surgeon, one of Mr. Chillingworth's belief; an able man, that pleased him well, and gave him some ease. And the next day being Monday, at our morning-exercise in the cathedral, I desired the soldiers and citizens that they would, in their prayers, remember the distressed estate of Mr. Chillingworth, a sick prisoner in the city; a man very eminent for the strength of his parts, the excellency of his gifts, and the depth of his learning. I told them, that they were commanded to love their enemies; and therefore were bound to pray for them, especially when God moved the heart of an enemy to desire their prayers. We prayed heartily that God would be pleased to bestow saving graces as well as excellent gifts upon him, that so all his gifts might be improved and sanctified. We desired that God would give him new light and new eyes, that he might see, acknowledge, and

* *Chillingworthi Novissima*, &c., pp. 26, 27.

recant his errors ; that he might deny his carnal reason, and submit to faith ; that God would bless all means which were used for his recovery, &c.

“ I believe none of his friends or my enemies can deny, that we made a respectful and Christian mention of him in our prayers.

“ The same day,” pursues Mr. Cheynell, “ I rid to Arundel, to move the doctor to come over again to visit Mr. Chillingworth ;* but the doctor was sent for out of town, before I got thither, to visit sir William Springot ; and so I lost my journey, and the doctor saw him no more. In my absence, a religious officer of Chichester garrison followed my suit to Mr. Chillingworth, and entreated him to declare himself in point of religion ; but Mr. Chillingworth appealed to his book again, and said he was settled ; as you may see it more largely set down in Mr. Edmond’s testimony before.” †

The testimony of Mr. Edmonds, Mr. Chillingworth’s apothecary, given under his hand, and printed in Mr. Cheynell’s pamphlet, runs thus :—

“ A friend standing by him, [Mr. Chillingworth,] desired him to declare himself in point of religion, for two reasons : First. Because the Jesuits had much defamed and traduced him in that particular. Secondly. Because he might be able to give an account to his friends, in case he should survive. He answered, he had declared himself already in that point sufficiently to the world. His friend told him, that there went abroad some hard opinions that he had of Jesus Christ, and wished him to deal candidly and

* See above, pp. 316, 317.
† *Chillingworthi Novissima*, &c., pp. 27, 28.

† *Chillingworthi Novissima*, &c., pp. 27, 28.

plainly to the world in that point. He answered, for those things he was settled and resolved, and therefore did not desire to be further troubled. Being demanded what course should be taken for his interment, in case God should take him away in this place, he replied, that wherever God should please to take him, he would there be interred, and, if it might be obtained, according to the custom of the church of England; 'if not, the Lord's will be done.' 'And further,' said he, 'because the world will be apt to surmise the worst of things, and there may be some inquiry made after my usage in this place, I must testify and declare to all the world, that I have received, both of Mr. Golledge and his wife, abundance of love, care, and tenderness, where I deserved it not; and that I have wanted nothing which might be desired of them: and I must, in all conscience and honesty, do them this right, to testify the truth to the world: 'or to that effect.' *

* *Chillingworthi Novissima*, &c., pp. 16, 17.

REMARKS.

LL—PAGE 323.

Mr. Cheynell was so pleased with these answers of Mr. Chillingworth, that he thought it ungenerous to dispute any longer with him—"Truly," says he, "I was ashamed to dispute with him any longer, when he had given me so much advantage. For, first, he clearly condemned himself for being confederate with them whose intentions were

destructive; because no man must promote an ill design by any means whatsoever, be they never so lawful. Secondly. He confessed himself clean out of his way when he was in arms; 'for war,' saith he, (and he learnt to say so of the Anabaptists and Socinians,) 'is not the way of Jesus Christ:' all that he could say for himself was, that he had no command in the army; and yet their greatest officers told me, that, in a true construction, there was no man else that had a command, to any purpose, but Mr. Chillingworth. And as touching their intentions, it is no hard matter to guess at the intentions of the French and Spanish faction at court, or the Irish intentions of the papists, prelates, delinquents, &c., that follow the queen's army.....And as touching the means used, Mr. Chillingworth himself would not say, that the queen and her adherents—prelates, papists, delinquents, malignants, of the French conspiracy, the Spanish faction, or the Irish rebellion, and their confederates—do take better courses, and use more lawful means, to accomplish their intentions, and bring about their designs, than the Parliament of England, the kingdom of Scotland, and the protestants in Ireland: since, then, Mr. Chillingworth did, as all ingenuous and active spirits do, detest neutrality, he might have seen (for he had light enough to see) the way of Jesus Christ." *

LII.—PAGE 332.

This answer could by no means please our rigid orthodox—"I was much displeased," says he, "with the answer upon divers reasons: First. Because the question was put home, of a man living and dying, so or so. Secondly. It was frivolous to talk of absolution, for it was out of question that he could not absolve them. Thirdly. It showed that he was too well persuaded of Turcism and Socinianism, which run exactly parallel in too many points.

* *Chillingworthi Novissima*, &c., pp. 22, 23.

Fourthly. He seems to anathematize the Socinians in the 'Preface to the Author of *Charity maintained*,' section 28 ; when Knott had reckoned up some Socinian tenets, Mr. Chillingworth answers, 'Whosoever teaches or holds them, let him be anathema.' I have not Knott's book by me now, I mean his 'Direction to N. N. ;' and Mr. Chillingworth was so wise as not to reckon up the number of those impious doctrines, or name them in particular, because they were all fathered upon him ; and he would not assist Mr. Knott so far in the spreading of his own undeserved defamation. (*Ibid.*, section 28.*) I am afraid that Knott reckoned up too many points of Socinianism, or did not form his interrogations aright ; and then Mr. Chillingworth might safely anathematize, and yet be a Socinian in many points which were not reckoned up or not well expressed. And yet his anathema is warily pronounced : he doth not say, 'Whosoever teaches or holds them or any of them, let him be anathema.' Moreover, if the Socinians be asked whether Christ be God, they will say, 'Yes ;' but then they mean, that he is the Son of God, born after an extraordinary manner by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost ; (Luke i. 31, 32, 35 ;), or that the word of God came unto him, and therefore is called God, because of his extraordinary commission from God, or the like. (John x. 35.) Now, either Mr. Chillingworth was guilty of some such equivocation and sly evasion, or else he grew worse and worse, and would not anathematize a gross Socinian : and if, in these latter days, seducers grow worse and worse, I shall not wonder at it. (2 Tim. iii. 13.)" †

* See Remark xxvi., pp. 144—147 ; and the text, pp. 156, 157.

† *Chillingworthi Novissima*, &c., pp. 25, 26.

XIX. THE DEATH OF CHILLINGWORTH. HIS LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT. THE EXTRAVAGANT AND UNCHARITABLE CONDUCT OF CHEYNELL AT CHILLINGWORTH'S FUNERAL. HIS SPEECH ON THAT OCCASION. LOCKE'S OPINION OF CHEYNELL'S PAMPHLET. THE IMPUTATION OF SOCINIANISM AGAINST EMINENT MEN A COMMON PRACTICE AMONG FANATICS.

MR. CHILLINGWORTH died soon after, but I cannot find what day. (LIII.*) Mr. Cheynell hath not vouchsafed to let us know it. That particular did not come within his design; which was, to show, that, notwithstanding his irreconcilable hatred to Mr. Chillingworth's principles, he had treated him, while alive, with a due regard to his great merit and present condition: (LIV. :) whereby he thought himself acquitted from the imputation of uncharitableness towards him after his death.

"From my first visitation of Mr. Chillingworth to the last," says he,† "I did not find him in a condition which might any way move me, had I been his deadly enemy, either to flatter or envy him, but rather to pity and pray for him, as you see I did. I dare appeal to his eminent and learned friends, whether there could be more mercy shown to his body, or charity to his soul, whilst he was alive. Consider what it is worth to have a fortnight's space to repent in. O what would Dives have proffered for such a mercy! If Mr. Chil-

* See Remark LIII. at the end of this section, p. 351.

† *Chillingworthi Novissima*, &c., pp. 28, 29.

lingworth did not improve it, that was no fault of mine. And shall not my charity to his soul and body, whilst he was alive, acquit me from being uncharitable towards him after his death? No reasonable man will deem me guilty of such an uncharitable madness, as to be angry with a carcass, or to go wrestle with a ghost : for I consider that his ghost might cry, *In faciem sepeli*, ‘ Bury me with my face downward, if you please ; for when the Macedonians ’ (give me leave to change the story a little, and say, ‘ when the Irish ’) ‘ come,’ (and they were then near us,) ‘ they will turn all upside down.’ I am no Sylla : I did not give any command to scatter the relics of Marius. Though I have not much wisdom, yet I have more charity than to deserve that lash of the orator,— ‘ He had been more wise, had he been less violent ;’* and yet I will confess that I am, and ought to be, violent for Christ and heaven, and my passions are too often as hot as my zeal ; but they may bear with small faults ; and in this business I have proceeded with deliberation and moderation. I consider that I am in the body, and my body may be delivered, I know not how soon, into

* *C. Marii sitas reliquias apud Anienem, dissipari jussit Sylla victor, acerbiorē odio incitatus, quā si tam sapiens fuisset quā vehemens fuit, &c.*—CICERO, *De Legibus*, lib. ii. cap. 22. [I have subjoined BARHAM’s translation of this passage :—“The conqueror Sylla ordered the corpse of Marius to be disinterred from his grave on the banks of the Anio, impelled to this barbarous brutality by an implacable resentment, which he would not have indulged if he had been as wise as he was vehement. Perhaps it was through fear that the same accident might happen to himself, that he ordered his body to be burned.”—EDIT.]

the enemies' hand. I do not expect, though I might desire, that half that mercy which I showed to Mr. Chillingworth, may be shown to me. *Defunctorum cineribus violentiam inferre sacrilega præsumptio est*,* is a rule, if I mistake not, in the civil law; and I shall be able to justify my carriage in the business of his funeral, to the face of his greatest patrons, from all inhumanity or sacrilege:—

Sacrilegæ bustis abstinuere manus.†

Then he gives an account of his proceedings, and those of his party, in relation to Mr. Chillingworth's funeral; and is afraid his charity went so far, that it might be liable to censure.

"Let us, if you please, take a view of all our proceedings," says he, "and of Mr. Chillingworth's opinions; and then, I am afraid, some will say there was a little foolish pity showed on my part; and the uncharitableness will be found in them only who censure me for want of charity.

"First. There were all things which may any way appertain to the civility of a funeral, though there was nothing which belongs to the superstition of a funeral. His body was decently laid in a convenient coffin, covered with a mourning hearse-cloth; more seemly, as I conceive, than the usual covering, patched-up out of the mouldy relics of some moth-eaten copes. His friends were entertained, according to their own desire, with wine and cakes; though that is, in my conceit, a

* "To offer violence to the ashes of the deceased, is a sacrilegious presumption."—EDIT. † "Never have my hands sacrilegiously disturbed the repose of the dead."

—EDIT.

turning of the house of mourning into a house of banquetting. All that offered themselves to carry his corpse, out of pure devotion, because they were men of his persuasion, had every one of them, according to the custom of the country, a branch of rosemary, a mourning-riband, and a pair of gloves. But, as it doth become an impartial historian, I confess there were three several opinions concerning his burial:—

“The first opinion was negative and peremptory,—that he ought not to be buried like a Christian, 1. Who refused to make a full and free confession of Christian religion. 2. Nay, if there had been nothing else against him, but his taking up of arms against his country, *that* they conceived a sufficient reason to deny the burial of his corpse.....3. In the third place, some were bold to say that he was *felo de se*, ‘guilty of his own death,’ by his foolhardiness. Finally. It was alleged that he was a heretic, no member of any of the Reformed churches; and, therefore, to be reckoned as an excommunicated person. Now, you know what law it is which denieth burial to heretics and excommunicated persons; though they be excommunicated for inconformity only, for not appearing, or not paying of 3s. 4d., or some such like cause: read Pickering’s Case in the High Commission.” *

He shows afterwards what notion they had of Mr. Chillingworth. (Lv.)

“The second opinion,” says he, “was your opinion, and the opinion of such as you are, my good

* *Chillingworthi Novissima*, &c., pp. 29—31.

friends at Athens. The men of a cathedral-spirit thought it fit that Mr. Chillingworth, being a member of a cathedral, should be buried in the cathedral; and being *Cancellarius*, it was conceived that he should be buried *intra cancellos*, and rot under the altar, near the pot of incense, that the constant perfume of the incense might excuse the thrift of his executrix: *Ossa inodora dedit*.* It was answered, that he was of, or belonging to, the cathedral at Sarum; and, therefore, they might carry him thither: but, then, his will could not be performed; because he desired to be buried at Chichester, in case he did end his days in that city. But some, more serious, conceived, that this desire of burying him *intra cancellos* was but the issue of a superstitious conceit, that the chancel, or *sanctum sanctorum*, was more holy than other places, and the carcass of a priest as sacred as that holy ground: and it was their opinion, that a modest and well-grounded denial of this request would be the most effectual confutation of that superstitious conceit.....

“The third opinion which prevailed was this,—that it would be fittest to permit the men of his own persuasion, out of mere humanity, to bury their dead out of our sight; and to bury him in the cloisters, amongst the old shavelings, monks, and priests, of whom he had so good an opinion all his life.

“The prelatiical men,” adds he, “do conceive that there is a kind of holiness in a cloister; no

* *PERSII Satyr.* vi. 34. I have subjoined BREWSTER’S translation of this passage:—

“Consign’d his bones, perfumeless, to their urn.”—EDIT.

excommunicated person must be buried there, unless there be an absolution sent, either before the death of the party, or to the dead corpse (which they must call their 'beloved brother,' because they themselves are as loathsome and rotten as the corpse): nay, a papist must not be buried in the cloisters, without special dispensation from the bishop; and you know the prelates would dispense with papists, alive or dead. It is usual to bury men of good rank and quality in collegiate cloisters; and sure I am, the cavaliers do not bury their dead so honourably; though they esteem them the queen's martyrs, they throw them into ditches or rivers.

"Finally. Mr. Chillingworth's bones shall rest without any disturbance. He shall not be used as Wickliffe was by papists; or as Bucer* was served by the prelatical faction at Cambridge, who vouchsafed him an honourable burial in the days of Edward VI., *anno* 1551, because they knew it would be an acceptable service in the eyes of St. Edward, as judicious Hooker styles him; but, in the days of queen Mary, (the first of that name,) the same men plucked him out of his grave again, after an inhuman and barbarous manner; but, in queen Elizabeth's days, the same men wheeled about a third time, and made an honourable commemoration of him again in panegyrical orations and flattering verses.

"Mr. Chillingworth," pursues our author,† "was buried by day; and, therefore, we had no torches or candles at his grave. Tertullian assures me,

* *Consulas Histor. de Vitâ et Obitu Bucerî.*
lingworthi Novissima, &c., pp. 31—33.

† *Chil-*

that the Christians used no such custom, though the Heathens did, and the antichristians now do. *Non frangimus lucernis lucem Dei.*" *

Mr. Cheynell owns that he refused to bury Mr. Chillingworth, and endeavours to justify it by several reasons. (LVI.) The last is this :—

"Finally," says he, "it was favour enough to permit Mr. Chillingworth's disciples, or followers, the men of his persuasion, to perform this last office to their friend and master. Now, there was free liberty granted to all the malignants in the city to attend the hearse, and inter his corpse. Sure I am, that if Mr. Chillingworth had been as orthodox and zealous a preacher as John the Baptist was, he might have had as honourable a burial as John the Baptist had ; for all the honour that John had was, to be buried by his own disciples. (Matt. xiv. 12.) If the doctrine of this eminent scholar was heretical, and his disciples were malignants, I am not guilty of that difference. As devout Stephen was carried to his burial by devout men, so is it just and equal that malignants should carry malignants to their grave. By 'malignants' I mean, such kind of men who join with the enemy, or are willing, upon any occasion offered, to join with him, to promote the antichristian design now on foot : those, and only those, I call malignants." †

The reader will hardly imagine that Mr. Cheynell should now go and meet the malignants, as he is pleased to call them, at the grave. But he

* "We do not, with candles or common lights, obscure that light which God has bestowed."—EDR. † *Chillingworthi Novissima*, &c., p. 38.

was resolved to give here a new and uncommon instance of his zeal and orthodoxy. For though he refused to bury Mr. Chillingworth's corpse, he must needs bury his book. This theatrical performance he relates in the following manner :—

“When the malignants,” says he, “brought his hearse to the burial, I met them at the grave, with Mr. Chillingworth's book in my hand ; at the burial of which book, I conceived it fit to make this little speech following :—

“A Speech made at the Funeral of Mr. Chillingworth's mortal Book.

“BRETHREN, it was the earnest desire of that eminent scholar, whose body lies here before you, that his corpse might be interred according to the rites and customs approved in the English Liturgy, and in most places of this kingdom heretofore received : but his second request, in case that were denied him, was, that he might be buried in this city, after such a manner as might be obtained in these times of unhappy difference and bloody wars. His first request is denied, for many reasons, of which you cannot be ignorant. It is too well known, that he was once a professed papist and a grand seducer ; he perverted divers persons of considerable rank and quality ; and I have good cause to believe, that his return to England, commonly called his conversion, was but a false and pretended conversion : and, for my own part, I am fully convinced that he did not live or die a genuine son of the church of England ; (I retain the usual phrase, that you may know what I mean ;) I mean, he was not of that faith or reli-

gion which is established by law in England. He hath left that fantasy, which he called his religion, upon record in this subtle book. He was not ashamed to print and publish this destructive tenet,—that there is no necessity of church or scripture to make men faithful men,—in page 100 of this unhappy book ; and, therefore, I refuse to bury him myself ; yet let his friends and followers, who have attended his hearse to this Golgotha, know, that they are permitted, out of mere humanity, to bury their dead out of our sight. If they please to undertake the burial of his corpse, I shall undertake to bury his errors, which are published in this so-much-admired, yet unworthy, book ; and happy would it be for this kingdom, if this book and all its fellows could be so buried, that they might never rise more, unless it were for a confutation ; and happy would it have been for the author, if he had repented of those errors, that they might never rise for his condemnation ; happy, thrice happy, will he be, if his works do not follow him, if they do never rise with him, nor against him.

“ Get thee gone, then, thou cursed book, which hast seduced so many precious souls ! Get thee gone, thou corrupt, rotten book ; earth to earth, and dust to dust ! Get thee gone into the place of rottenness, that thou mayest rot with thy author, and see corruption ! So much for the burial of his errors.

“ Touching the burial of his corpse, I need say no more than this : It will be most proper for the men of his persuasion to commit the body of their deceased friend, brother, master, to the dust ; and

it will be most proper for me to hearken to that counsel of my Saviour: 'Let the dead bury their dead; but go thou and preach the kingdom of God.' (Luke ix. 60.)

"And so I went from the grave to the pulpit, and preached on that text to the congregation." *

Mr. Cheynell observes, that he had been censured, on this occasion, by two sorts of persons. For some conceived that he "studied on purpose to pick out the most piercing text in the Bible, a text which doth much reflect upon the party deceased;" and others were of opinion he had been too indulgent in suffering Mr. Chillingworth to be buried like a Christian. He answers their objections; (LVII.) and then expresses, in his usual railing, enthusiastic style, how much he was concerned for the loss of Mr. Chillingworth, a person of such extraordinary parts and learning.

"I dare boldly say," says he, "that I have been more sorrowful for Mr. Chillingworth, and merciful to him, than his friends at Oxford: his sickness and obstinacy cost me many a prayer, and many a tear. I did heartily bewail the loss of such strong parts and eminent gifts; the loss of so much learning and diligence. Never did I observe more acuteness and eloquence so exactly tempered in the same person: *Diabolus ab illo ornari cupiebat*: † for he had eloquence enough to set a fair varnish upon the foulest design. He was master of his learning; he had all his argu-

* *Chillingworthi Novissima*, &c., pp. 38—40. † "One of the devil's wishes was, to be honoured in the person and qualifications of this great man."—EDR.

ments *in procinctu*, and all his notions *in numero*. 'Howl, ye fir trees, for a cedar is fallen !' Lament, ye sophisters, for the master of sentences, (shall I say ?) or fallacies, is vanished ! Wring your hands, and beat your breasts, ye antichristian engineers ; for your arch-engineer is dead, and all his engines buried with him ! Ye daughters of Oxford, weep over Chillingworth ; for he had a considerable and hopeful project how to clothe you and himself in scarlet, and other delights ! 'I am distressed for thee, my brother Chillingworth,' may his executrix say ; 'very pleasant hast thou been unto me ; thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of father, husband, brother.' 'O how are the mighty fallen, and the weapons,' nay, engines, 'of war perished !' 'O tell it not in Gath,' that he who raised a battery against the pope's chair, that he might place reason in the chair, instead of antichrist, is dead and gone ! 'publish it not in the streets of Askelon,' that he who did at once batter Rome, and undermine England, the Reforming church of England, that he might prevent a reformation, is dead ! lest, if you publish it, you puzzle all the conclave, and put them to consider, whether they should mourn or triumph." *

Next to this raving flight, follows an account of Mr. Chillingworth's tombstone ; and a small tract, entitled, "A profane Catechism, collected out of Mr. Chillingworth's works ;" which is all of a piece with the foregoing relation of Mr. Chillingworth's death and burial. (LVIII.)

* *Chillingworthi Novissima*, &c., pp. 41, 42.

Thus, that incomparable man, who was an example of virtue, piety, and moderation; and will ever be a model of clear, strong, and fair reasoning, and that in the protestant cause; had the hard fate to be harassed by protestants as well as papists, and to lie under the odious charge of Socinianism; an imputation which seems to have been the lot of men distinguished by the excellency of their parts; (LIX.;) and, more particularly, of those who have endeavoured to free religion from enthusiasm and fanaticism, and to establish it upon its true, rational grounds and foundations. "I know not how it comes to pass," says that eminent prelate, archbishop Tillotson,* "whether through the artifice of the popish party, who hate the light, lest it should reprove them, and make them manifest; or through the ignorance of too many well-meaning Protestants; I say, I know not how it comes to pass, but so it is, that every one that offers to give a reasonable account of his faith, and to establish religion upon rational principles, is presently branded for a Socinian; of which we have a sad instance in that incomparable person, Mr. Chillingworth, the glory of this age and nation; who, for no other cause, that I know of, but his worthy and successful attempts to make Christian religion reasonable, and to discover those firm and solid foundations upon which our faith is built, hath been requited with this black and odious character. But if this

* "Sermons on various Subjects," published by Dr. Ralph Barker; vol. xii., sermon vi., on Heb. xi. 6, entitled, "The Efficacy, Usefulness, and Reasonableness of divine Faith," pp. 167, 168.

be Socinianism, for a man to inquire into the grounds and reasons of Christian religion, and to endeavour to give a satisfactory account why he believes it; I know no way but that all considerate, inquisitive men, that are above fancy and enthusiasm, must be either Socinians or atheists."

END OF THE TEXT.

REMARKS.

LIII.—PAGE 339.

Mr. Chillingworth died soon after, but I cannot find what day—It will appear very strange to those who are unacquainted with the many defects in history, that nobody hath yet endeavoured to give us the exact date of the death of a person so celebrated as Mr. Chillingworth, or at least to bring it as near to its true time as possible. I speak of the day of the month in which he died; for, as to the year, every body agrees, it was in the beginning of 1644; or 1643, according to the computation of the church of England. Mr. Wood says, that "he gave way to fate on January 24th, or thereabouts; and the next day his body was brought into the cathedral church, &c.:"* but he quotes no authority for it. Dr. Walker (who, besides the books, pamphlets, and manuscripts he looked over, writ to all the clergymen of the kingdom, and, consequently, to those of Chichester, for an account of such of the clergy as had suffered in the late times of the civil war) affirms, that his "death happened on January 20th."† But how he comes to differ from Mr. Wood, from whom he hath taken almost his whole account of Mr. Chillingworth, I cannot

* Vol. ii. cap. 23.

† "An Attempt," &c., *ubi supra*, p. 63.

tell. Mr. Le Neve, who hath been very inquisitive into these matters, observes, that "he died January 20th, or thereabouts ;" * and cites Mr. Wood, who says it was "on January 24th." And the truth is, no author, that I know of, hath furnished us with the precise date. But though Mr. Wood could not fix it, for want of sufficient information, yet, having by him Mr. Cheynell's relation, he might [have] come nearer to it than he hath done.

For the letter of captain King to Mr. Jones, above recited, † wherein he gives him an account of Mr. Chillingworth's illness, and invites some of his Oxford friends to come and see him, "whilst there was some hope of life," is dated January 23d, which was on a Tuesday. Moreover, Mr. Cheynell having observed, that Mr. Chillingworth's "spirit was much dejected, because his friends neglected or delayed to send him some good news from Oxford," &c., ‡ says afterwards, that "the last time he visited him was on the Lord's day ;" § and if we suppose that this happened the Sunday next following, it was on January 28th. He says, likewise, that "the next day being Monday, at their morning exercise in the cathedral, he desired the soldiers and citizens that they would in their prayers remember the distressed estate of Mr. Chillingworth, a sick prisoner in the city," &c. ; || and this was on the 29th. He observes further, that "the same day he rid to Arundel, to move the doctor to come over again to visit Mr. Chillingworth ; but he was sent for out of town, and the doctor saw him no more : " ¶ and as he does not mention that he himself saw him after this, it is highly probable that he died the next day, being Tuesday, January 30th.

He had made his will on the 22d of November, 1643. This last writing of his gives so just an idea of his piety, justice, charity, and public spirit, that I could not forbear inserting it here :—

* *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, &c., p. 267. † See the text, pp. 330, 331. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 317. § *Ibid.*, p. 333. || *Ibid.*, p. 334. ¶ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

"The last Will and Testament of William Chillingworth, Clerk, written by him, November 22d, 1643."*

"*Imprimis*, I commend my soul to God, hoping to be saved through his infinite mercy, and the mediation of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

"*Item*, My desire is, that all my debts be paid, particularly forty pounds to the executors of Mr. Dudley Diggs, late Fellow of Oriel College ; which I mention in particular, because I am uncertain whether they know of it or no.

"*Item*, I give to the mayor and corporation of Oxford four hundred pounds, to be paid by fifty pounds a year, in eight years ; and as it is paid, I would have it lent to poor, young tradesmen, by fifty pounds a-piece for ten years, they giving good security to repay it at ten years, and to pay forty shillings *per annum* consideration ; and the money paid for consideration I would have it laid out in binding young, poor children, boys or girls, apprentices, allowing to bind every one apprentice eight pounds a-piece. But my will is, that none shall be capable of this charity but those that are really poor ; and none of those that are indeed so, I would have excluded from the participation of it. And, therefore, as often as such sum comes in, I would have the names of all the poor children in Oxford, and the suburbs of it, put into a lottery, and whosoever's name is drawn out, him or her I would have partaker of it. Always provided, that they are between twelve and sixteen years of age, and that they can repeat perfectly the Catechism of the church of England ; which if he that fortunes to be drawn out cannot do, I would have him put by for that time, and other drawn who can perform this perfectly.

* Prerogat. Office, in Reg. Twysse, 140. The probate is dated, "October 27th, 1646."

"All the rest of my goods I give to my brother's and sister's children.

"I make my dear sister * my sole executrix ; and my dear father, Dr. Sheldon, and Mr. Timothy Carter, overseers ; to whom I give five pounds a-piece.

"*Item*, My will is, that my late dear brother's will, though not sealed by him, the copy whereof lies in my desk in my study, should be exactly and punctually performed.

"This is my last will and testament. In witness whereof I have set my hand,

"WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH."

I could not find his codicil in the Prerogative Office ; though Mr. Cheynell, who hath given us some account of it, says that Mr. Chillingworth "desired it should be annexed to his will." †

LIV.—PAGE 339.

He had treated him with a due regard to his great merit and present condition—Mr. Cheynell had observed before, ‡ that "the governor of Chichester gave order, that lieutenant Golledge should take charge of him, and placed him in the bishop of Chichester's palace, where he had very courteous usage, and all accommodations which were requisite for a sick man ; as appears," pursues he, § "by the testimony of his own man at Oxford, and a letter of thankful acknowledgment from Mr. Chillingworth's father to lieutenant Golledge ; nay, by Mr. Chillingworth's codicil, which he desired should be annexed to his will ; in which he gave ten pounds to captain King ; ten pounds to Mrs. Mason, who keeps the bishop's house, and attended Mr. Chillingworth in his sickness ; and ten pounds to lieute-

* Mary Chillingworth.
† See Remark LIV.
‡ See the text, p. 316.

§ *Chillingworthi Novissima*, &c., p. 15.

nant Golledge : and it may further appear by a letter of captain King's sent to Oxford, and the testimony of Mr. Edmonds, his apothecary." *

Indeed, it appears, by Mr. Cheynell's relation, that he was often teased by Mr. Cheynell himself, and by an officer of the garrison of Chichester, with impertinent questions and disputes ; but to say, that this kind of inhumanity was the cause of his death, is, in my humble opinion, doing them an injury. And I will presume to affirm, that it was for want of being rightly informed, that the earl of Clarendon hath expressed himself on that occasion in the following manner. After having observed, that Mr. Chillingworth "was taken prisoner" in Arundel-castle,† he adds, "As soon as his person was known, which would have drawn reverence from any noble enemy, the clergy that attended that army prosecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable ; so that, by their barbarous usage, he died within few days, to the grief of all that knew him, and of many who knew him not but by his book, and the reputation he had with learned men."‡ From whence it may be inferred, that my lord Clarendon did not know, or had forgot, that Mr. Chillingworth was sent to Chichester ; but believed that he died in Arundel-castle, within few days after the taking of it by sir William Waller.

Mr. Wood, who had before him Mr. Cheynell's relation, expresses himself with more reserve than my lord Clarendon. "At length," says he, "the castle coming into the hands of the Parliamentary forces, on January 6th, 1643, he [Mr. Chillingworth] was, by the endeavours of Mr. Francis Cheynell, (about that time rector of Petworth,) made to sir William Waller, the prime governor of those forces, conveyed to Chichester, and there lodged in the bishop's house ; because he, being very sick, could not go to London with the prisoners taken in the said castle. In

* See the text, pp. 330, 335. † *Ibid.*, pp. 310, 311. ‡ *Ubi supra*, p. m. 473.

the said house," pursues Mr. Wood, "he remained to his dying day; and though civilly used, yet he was much troubled with the impertinent discourses and disputes of the said Cheynell, which the royal party of that city looked upon as a shortening of our author's days." *

LV.—PAGE 342.

He shows afterwards what notion they had of Mr. Chillingworth—"The truth is," says he, "we looked upon Mr. Chillingworth as a kind of Nonconformist; nay, to speak strictly, a recusant rather than a Nonconformist: for Nonconformists refuse to subscribe to canons which concern discipline, but Mr. Chillingworth refused to subscribe some Articles of religion, as he himself acknowledges, though he thought charitably of them who did subscribe them. For he saith, he doth not undertake the peculiar defence of the church of England, but the common cause of protestants; and yet he doth not hold the doctrine of all protestants true, because they hold contradictions; yet he conceived them free from all error destructive of salvation; and though he did make scruple of 'subscribing the truth of one or two propositions, yet he thought himself fit enough to maintain, that those who do subscribe them are in a saveable condition.' (See the 'Preface to the Author of *Charity maintained*,' section 39.) You see Mr. Chillingworth did refuse to subscribe.† What think ye, gentlemen; are not Chichester-men pretty good disputants? Can you confute these reasons? If you can, do your best; if you cannot, I have no reason to prompt you: scratch your heads, beat your desks, bite your nails, and I will go sleep, and will not hear what they said of Mr. Chillingworth's argument on Fielding's case." ‡

* Vol. ii. cap. 23.

† See Remark XL. p. 280.

‡ *Chillingworthi Novissima*, &c., p. 31.

LVL—PAGE 345.

Mr. Cheynell owns that he refused to bury Mr. Chillingworth, and endeavours to justify it by several reasons—“But it is strongly objected,” says he, “that my great and unanswerable fault was, that I did *in extremo actu deficere*, [“fail in the last act,”] I refused to bury him myself, and left it to others : Sirs, I confess it, and shall deal freely and candidly in the business.

“First. Mr. Chillingworth, in his lifetime, desired to have some part of the Common-Prayer Book read over his corpse at the grave, in case it should please God to take him away into another world by that sickness. Now, I could not yield to this request of his for many reasons, which I need not specify ; yet I shall say enough to give satisfaction to reasonable and modest men. I conceive it absurd and sinful to use the same form of words at the burial of all manner of persons ; namely, to insinuate that they are all elected, that they do all rest in Christ, that we have sure and certain hope of their salvation, &c. ; these, and the like passages, I durst not make use of upon that occasion : and all this, and a great deal more, was desired by Mr. Chillingworth : blame me not if I did choose rather to satisfy my own conscience than his desire.....

“Secondly. I do not know to what end and purpose we should pray *over* the dead, unless we conceive it fitting to pray *for* the dead. I do consider upon what slight occasions the people have heretofore run into intolerable errors ; and there is a kind of natural superstition engrafted in the mind of ingenuous men in this great business : men are apt to slide out of their civility and blind devotion, into detestable superstition. They who began to compliment with the dead at first, did little dream that their compliments should be urged as arguments to prove, that we may make prayers to the dead ; and yet they who have searched farthest into the original of that rotten superstition and

gross idolatry, do as clearly demonstrate my observation to be solid and rational, as if it were 'a truth written with a sunbeam.' " *

And, after having expatiated upon that matter, he adds :—

" But if any man do yet remain unsatisfied, let him consider, that had I conceived it fitting to read some service over a dead corpse, yet it could not be expected, in reason and equity, that I should perform this last office to the body of Mr. Chillingworth : for it is well known, that, long before these unnatural and bloody wars, in the times of greatest compliance, I never gave Mr. Chillingworth the right hand of fellowship ; but did freely and constantly protest against those damnable heresies which he did cunningly subintroduce and vent in this kingdom, not only whilst he was a professed papist, but since his pretended conversion (give me leave to call it so : you will see there is good ground for that diminishing term, when you come to read the Catechism anon). I am not ashamed to tell the whole University, the whole kingdom, that I never looked upon Mr. Chillingworth as my brother, in a religious respect ; for we were not men of the same religion, or communion ; to speak plain, we were not members of the same church ; for, as he saith truly in his subtle book, ' they who differ in fundamental points are not members of the same church one with another, any more than protestants are members of the same church with papists.' (Chap. iii. sect. 9, page 131.) " †

LVII.—PAGE 348.

Mr. Cheynell answers these two objections—"Some conceive," says he, "that I studied on purpose to pick out the most piercing text in the Bible ; a text which doth much

* *Chillingworthi Novissima*, &c., pp. 33—35.
37, 38.

† *Ibid.*, pp.

reflect upon the party deceased : but these men ‘err, not knowing the scriptures ;’ for had I used that prayer at Mr. Chillingworth’s grave, which was dictated by the Spirit upon the like occasion, the fall of a great enemy of Israel, (Judges v. 31,) doubtless that prayer would have reflected more upon the party deceased, and all his surviving party : ‘So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord ; but let them that love thee be as the sun when he goes forth in his strength.’ They would have been more displeased had I taken that text which is applied to no less a man than the son of Josiah, by the prophet Jeremiah : ‘They shall not lament for him, saying, Ah my brother ! or, Ah sister ! Ah lord ! or, Ah his glory ! He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem.’ (Jer. xxii. 18, 19.) Doubtless, that man deserves the burial of an ass, who believes his own reason more than the God of truth ; he that dares not condemn, nay, admires, those for rational men, who would reason Christ and the Holy Ghost out of their Godhead, and even dispute them both out of the Trinity, doth certainly deserve the burial of an ass. ‘Man is born like a wild ass’s colt ;’ as silly, wild, and coltish, as the colt of a wild ass ; and if he prove an old colt, and perish by his coltish tricks, wonder not at the sharp censure of the Holy Ghost. You see, then, there are sharper texts than this that I pitched upon for the ground of my discourse.

“Secondly. All that understand that text, Luke ix. 60, will acknowledge, that the text did reflect rather upon the living than the dead. But why, then, was he buried at all ? I have told you already, his followers were permitted to bury him out of mere humanity. I pleaded for his burial from that great example recorded at length by the Holy Ghost, 2 Sam i., from the eleventh verse to the end of the chapter. Saul, you know, was forsaken of God long before his death ; ‘the Spirit of the Lord,’ (the excellent gifts and common graces of the Spirit, in particu-

lar,) the spirit of government, ‘departed from him :’ moreover, he consulted a witch, and by her the devil, at Endor ; and an evil spirit from the Lord took possession of him : yet Saul was solemnly buried, bewailed, nay, extolled, by David, for those things which were lovely in him, as you may read in the place fore-cited, verses 17, 21, 24.” *

LVIII—PAGE 349.

*Next to this raving flight, follows an account of Mr. Chillingworth’s tombstone, and a small tract, entitled, “A Profane Catechism,” &c.—*1. I shall first set down what he says concerning Mr. Chillingworth’s tombstone :—

“If any man inquire,” says he,† “whether he hath a tombstone, as well as an elegy, let him know, that we plundered an old friar of his tombstone ; and there is room enough for an epitaph, if they please to send one from Oxford ;‡ if not, give us leave to say, we have provided a sepulchre, and it is your fault if you do not provide a monument : for, as Laurentius Valla, the master of elegances, observes, a monument is nothing else but a speaking sepulchre : *Vixque monumentum dixerim, nisi literæ aut alii tituli appareant ; quæ si desint, magis sepulchrum quàm monumentum erit.* §—LAUR. VALL., *Elegant.* lib. iv. cap. 75.”

Then he adds, by way of introduction to the Catechism, “If there be any man yet unsatisfied, that this great philosopher, mathematician, orator, and any thing but, what he pretended to be, a divine, hath had no more honour at his death than a plain tombstone, and such a song of

* *Chillingworthi Novissima*, &c., pp. 40, 41.

† *Ibid.*, p. 42.

‡ See Appendix, Remark LXV.

§ “I should scarcely dignify it with the title of *a monument*, unless it exhibit at least the initials of the name, or some larger inscription ; if neither of these appear, the pile may more appropriately be designated *a sepulchre*, than *a monument*.”—EDIT.

lamentation as was taken up for Saul, let him read this following Catechism ; and if he be either Papist or Protestant, he will be satisfied, if he be true to his own principles."

2. Mr. Cheynell's "Profane Catechism, collected out of Mr. Chillingworth's Works,"* is a collection of some passages extracted out of Mr. Chillingworth's book against Mr. Knott, which serve for an answer to the questions he is pleased to frame ; with his animadversions upon those passages or answers. But he either misrepresents the intent and meaning of Mr. Chillingworth ; or censures what is above all exception, though not agreeable to his own notions and conceits : and all this in the same abusive, railing style which is usual to him. But the reader will better be able to judge of it by the following specimen :—

"QUESTION.—But what if the church err ?

"ANSWER.—'Then a man may learn of that selfsame church' (which taught him) 'to confute the errors of that church ;' that is, I may learn to confute the erroneous conclusions of that church, by those very rules and principles which that church teaches. (Chap. iii. sect. 40, page 150.) First, then, a private man is presumed to have more logic than that teaching church. Secondly. The prelates, who call themselves the church, may give my brethren of the Assembly leave to confute their erroneous conclusions, by some rules and principles which they themselves have delivered. Thirdly. A man may learn of the church how to teach the church. Principles which lead to these harsh truths, being licensed at Oxford, are an argument to me that they approved this book before they read it." †

"Q.—What is the best way to bring papists and protestants into one communion ?

* I have a pamphlet printed in 1643, with this title : "The Rebels' Catechism : composed in an easy and familiar Way ; to let them see the Heinousness of their Offence, the Weakness of their strongest Subterfuges ; and to recall them to their Duties both to God and Man." In quarto, 29 pages. † P. 51.

"A.—'The framing and proposing of a liturgy which both sides hold lawful.' (Page 132.) This was, perchance, the great stratagem aimed at in the framing of that Liturgy which was sent into Scotland; and this is a point which deserves the consideration of the pretended Parliament or Assembly at Oxford." *

"Q.—What are the causes of error?

"A.—'Negligence in seeking truth; unwillingness to find it; pride; obstinacy; a politic desire that that religion should be true, which suits best with my ends; fear of men's ill opinion; or any other worldly fear or worldly hope: these seven betray men to, and keep men in, damnable errors.' (Page 158.†) It is one of the most honest passages in his book. Brethren, let us beware of these motives." †

"Q.—What kind of man was Knott?

"A.—'One that went about to delude his king and country with strange captions: sure Mr. Chillingworth and he were both of a make: read page 117.' §

"Q.—What weapons of warfare may be justly called carnal?

"A.—'Massacres, treasons, persecutions; and, in a word, all means either violent or fraudulent.' (Page 52.||) God grant that the Irish forces, which land daily, do not make us as well acquainted with this warfare in England, as they are in Ireland!" ¶

"Q.—If I disapprove the judgment of any court, am I bound to conceal my own judgment?

"A.—'No; I may lawfully profess my judgment, and represent my reasons to the king or commonwealth in a Parliament, as sir Thomas More did, without committing any fault.' (Page 97.***) Why, then, are men so much blamed for professing their judgment against some things which seem to be established by law, and representing their reasons to the Parliament? And why did not Mr. Chillingworth yield external obedience to the commonwealth of England in this Parliament? For who can deny that the commonwealth of England is assembled in this Parliament?"

* P. 59.
ii. sec. 161.
ii. sec. 117.

† Chap. iii. sec. 52.
‡ Chap. ii. sec. 1.

† P. 61.
¶ P. 62.

§ Chap.
** Chap.

He concludes thus: "Now, reader," says he, "judge Mr. Chillingworth's works, my proceedings, and this treatise, according to the evidence given; and think an implicit faith in thine own reason almost as bad as implicit faith in the church or pope of Rome." *

And now the reader sees to what degree of distraction and madness even men of parts and learning may be carried, by an intemperate, furious zeal for their opinions and prejudices. And, I fear, this excess is but too common among Christians. There are more Cheynells in the world than people imagine; and if they show themselves but seldom, it is only for want of encouragement, or of a proper opportunity.

I shall close this account of Mr. Cheynell's pamphlet with the judgment of Mr. Locke upon it. "I longed to hear you were well," says he, in a letter to one of his friends; † "that you were returned; and that I might have opportunity.....to acknowledge my great obligations to you, for one of the most villanous books that, I think, was ever printed. It is a present that I highly value. I had heard something of it, when a young man in the University; but possibly should never have seen this quintessence of railing but for your kindness. It ought to be kept as the pattern and standard of that sort of writing; as the man he spends it upon, for that of good temper, and clear and strong arguing." ‡

Mr. Locke had a high value for Mr. Chillingworth; and he recommends the reading of his book in several of his pieces. In a small tract, containing "Some Thoughts concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman," after having observed, that the art of speaking well consists chiefly in two things; namely, perspicuity, and right reasoning; § and proposed Dr. Tillotson as a pattern for the attainment of the art of speaking clearly; he adds, "Besides perspicuity, there must be also right reasoning; without which, perspicuity serves but to expose the speaker. And for attaining of this, I should propose the constant reading of Chillingworth; who, by his example, will teach both perspicuity, and the way of right reasoning, better than any

* P. 63. † Anthony Collins, Esq. That letter is dated September 10th, 1703.

‡ "A Collection of several Pieces of Mr. John Locke, never before printed, or not extant in his Works," pp. 262, 263.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

book that I know ; and, therefore, will deserve to be read upon that account, over and over again ; not to say any thing of his argument." *

LIX.—PAGE 350.

The imputation of Socinianism seems to have been the lot of men distinguished by the excellency of their parts—It would be an easy matter to give a long catalogue of eminent persons, both divines and laymen, who have been unjustly charged with Socinianism ; but it will be sufficient, for my present purpose, to transcribe here a passage of the famous Mr. Le Clerc,† whose lot hath been to fall under the same invidious imputation : Si quis ingenio aliquo polleat, says he, eruditioneque vulgus superet, nec vulgaris scribat, illicò est Socinianus ; quasi sapere nemo posset, nisi in Socini castra se conferret. Insigne idemque nuperum ejus rei exemplum est optimus atque acutissimus vir Joannes Lockius, qui, quia adcuratius de multis philosophatur, quàm hactenus ab ullo factum est, in eximio libro “De Intellectu Humano,” continuò tamquam Socinianus infamatur a censore et aliis. Hoc demum est verè favere Socinianis, eximia omnia ingenia eorum numero adscribere. Paria olim in Hugonem Grotium, paria in Renardum Cartesium, sunt jactata ; quæ illis quidem viris dedecori non fuerunt, sed honori Socinianis. Similiter antea et Desiderius Erasmus Arianismi est ab illius ævi monachis, aliisque non melioribus insimulatus ; quasi nimio fuisset ingenio, quàm ut orthodoxus esse posset.‡

* *Ibid.*, p. 235. † *Epistolæ Criticæ et Ecclesiasticæ, &c., sive Artis Criticæ* vol. iii., epist. x., p. m. 272, 273. ‡ “If any one be possessed of some talent, and surpass the crowd in learning, and do not write vulgar things,—immediately he is set down as a Socinian ; as if no one could have any wisdom unless he betook himself to the camp of Socinus. We have a notable as well as recent instance in that most excellent and acute man, John Locke ; who, because he philosophizes more accurately about many things, in his book on the ‘Human Understanding,’ than any one else has hitherto done, is at once charged with being a Socinian by this censor and others. This, indeed, is really to favour the Socinians, to reckon amongst their ranks all men of surpassing genius. Like charges were cast at Hugo Grotius, and at René Des Cartes ; which, indeed, reflected no disgrace upon them, but conferred honour on the Socinians. In like manner, in former days, Desiderius Erasmus was accused of Arianism by the monks of that age, and others no better than they ; as if he was a man of too great genius to be orthodox.”—EDIT.



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